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CALCUTTA REVIEW

An Illustrated Monthly

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128

THIRD SERIES
Volume LXXIV

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JANUARY—MARCH
1940

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First Series	*1844*
New Series	*1913*
Third Series (Monthly)	*1921*

GS·1283

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Volume LXXIV; Numbers 1—3

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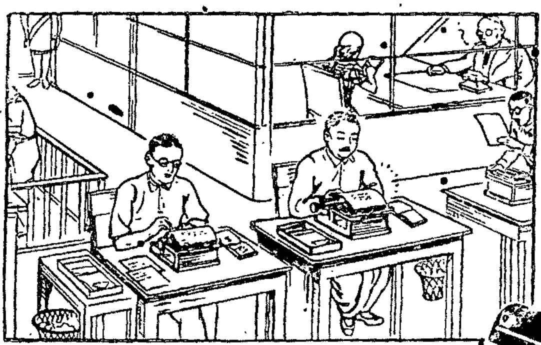

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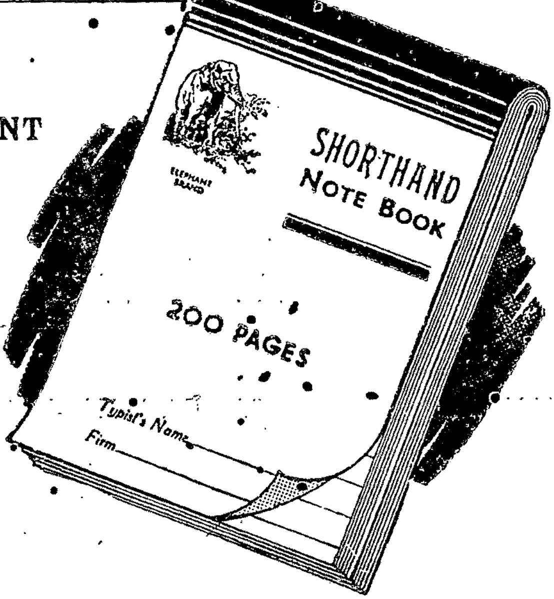

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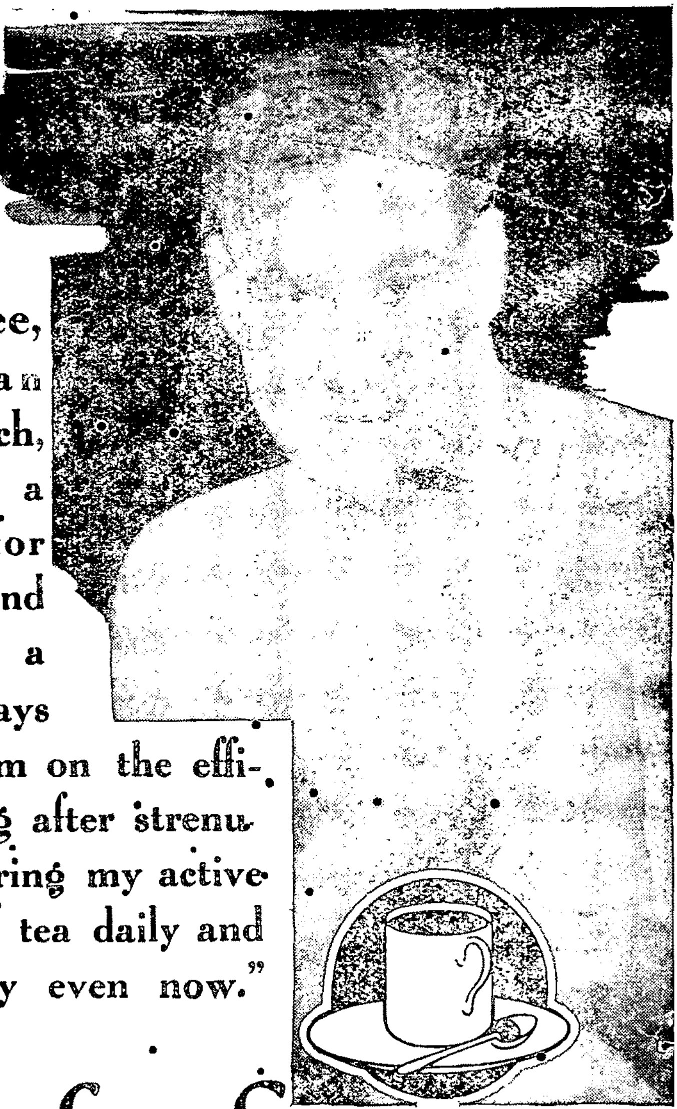

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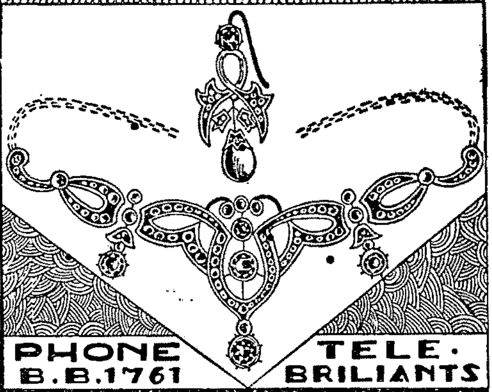

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YOUR EXCELLENCY, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

On behalf of the Reception Committee of the Third Session of the Indian History Congress and on behalf of the University of Calcutta I extend our warm and cordial welcome to you all, and specially to the delegates, the eminent and distinguished scholars who have come from the distant parts of India. The city of Calcutta where we have assembled this morning cannot claim the antiquity of either the historic city on the banks of the Mūla in the heart of the Maratha country where you had your First Session or of that ancient place where the waters of the Ganges flow down to meet the waters of the Jumna, the venue of your Second Session. Situated as we are in a deltaic region with mightiest rivers constantly shifting and changing their courses, forming alluvial accretions on one bank and diluviating every trace of landmarks on the other, rulers and dynasties have changed places, cities and cultures have had their ebb and flow with the shifting of our rivers and waterways and the history of this province had *perforce* to follow from place to place—Tamluk and Tribeni, Bishnupur and Jessore, Mahasthan and Paharpur, Nabadwip and Bikrampur, Satgaon and Pandooa, Gour and Murshidabad, Dacca and Chittagong. Even in recent times the administrative boundaries of this province have been changed and re-changed, while the very city where we have met this morning ceased to be the capital of India after a period of about a century and a half. The antiquarian may, therefore, be disappointed if we fail to show him any spot within this city with a history of more than two hundred years old; the archæologist may be grieved to know that we cannot take him down to any layer in this city where only stones and bricks may tell their tales. Nevertheless Calcutta since the days of Job Charnock has had an importance of its own which makes it a fitting place for the meeting of the eminent historians, archæologists and numismatists of India. For here within this city was laid the foundations of what we may term Modern India, and distinguished personages had their dreams, deliberations and decisions in building up the India of to-day. It was here that in 1784 the Asiatic Society, now the Royal Asiatic Society, was formed with Sir William Jones as the first President and it was here just over a hundred years ago that an eminent scholar, a Secretary to this Society, first succeeded in exploring the secrets of the Asokan scripts. It was in this city in the year 1857 at a time when the political and economic life of India was suffering a great upheaval that the foundations of a great University were laid, a University which in all humility can claim to have produced generations of men and women whose contributions to the renaissance of India are matters of history to-day, a University hallowed by the memory of the many intellectual giants who have been the cultural ambassadors of India to the farthest outposts of the world. It was here that the prophetic vision of a great man, whose name will always be associated with this University, encouraged by the schemes of reforms initiated by a great Viceroy, set upon himself amidst many difficulties and often disappointments the task of first organising systematized studies and researches into India's past. If to-day the subject of Indian History has gone far beyond the narrow limits of anecdotes and stories; of battles and victories, this University may justly claim to have laid the first foundations of the many varied studies and researches into the history of the East and of

---

* Delivered on 15th December, 1939, at the Third Session of the Indian History Congress at Calcutta.

India in all its political, social and cultural phases. This University has recently taken up the work of exploration at various places in this province, has added a Museum and an Art Gallery as a part of the teaching of History in the widest sense of the term and it is now in contemplation to have a full-fledged department of Islamic Studies to embrace studies into the history and the cultural past and background of a great phase of world civilization. On political and administrative grounds, Calcutta may, therefore, have ceased to be the political capital of India for the last quarter of a century; the Secretariat desks may have been taken to Delhi and Simla; Imperial records may pass away from this place; yet Calcutta will remain the metropolitan city of India and of the East, and will always be able to give historians and scholars enough to look behind the pages of history.

Speaking before this gathering of eminent historians and distinguished scholars, it is needless on my part to emphasise the importance of studies and researches in the history of the East and of India. A distinguished writer whose sympathy for India's culture and her past was as profound as it was sincere observed in 1883 : " Why do we want to know history? Because all of us ought to know how we have come to be what we are, so that each generation need not start again from the same point and toil over the same ground, but profiting by the experience of those who came before, may advance towards higher points and nobler aims." It is this striving towards " higher points and nobler aims " that this Congress hopes to promote, advance and foster. Valuable work has no doubt been done in the past by the great institutions of India, by the many learned societies and individuals in all the provinces. We have an Oriental Conference, a Historical Records Commission, a Numismatic Society and various academies and associations that meet at regular intervals. Nevertheless, there is a real need for an All-India organisation for the purpose of the students of History meeting together in a perspective that does not limit its horizon to one particular period or aspect. It was, therefore, a happy idea which led the authorities of the Modern History Congress that was inaugurated in 1935 to enlarge the scope of their organization and to institute this All-India organization of the historians and scholars whose investigations and enquiries extend to ancient, mediæval and modern periods of Indian History. All of us have reasons to be grateful to Dr. Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan, the learned and indefatigable Secretary of the Indian History Congress, whose vision and foresight brought into being the Indian History Congress, and I have no doubt that posterity will gratefully remember him for bringing the historians of India together to exchange notes and thoughts.

I have no presumption of claiming to be a historian in any sense of the term; but as a citizen of a great country I have always felt within myself that in the present political and social conditions of India nothing is more necessary to-day than a study of the past of this land of ours. It must be realised that it is only a true and correct perspective of Indian History that can form the essential background of all our national feelings and sentiments. A great task still lies before the historians of India and they have yet to fully open up before the generations of to-day and the future a true and correct perspective of our glorious heritage and our magnificent past. We have to show to ourselves and to the world the gifts of India and thus inspire generations after generations in building up the future of this great land. I often feel that the interpretation of the history of the Orient and of India has often been based upon insufficient data, more often marred by incorrect deductions and not infrequently coloured by unnecessary emphasis on individual incidents, while distorted presentations of facts and figures have aggravated to blur the true vision of our history. Time has now come when everybody interested in the future of this country should do everything in his power to get a proper perspective of our history. I am yet to know that there is any country, any people, any culture in the world where individual incidents cannot be accumulated to blacken the pages of history; but the march of history is the march of times and whether one likes it or not, humanity tarries not to dig out such individual acts or that buried past which endangers the harmony among men and the blending of cultures. Far be it for me to say that if anybody chooses to dig out such dismal past, he should not have the fullest freedom to do so; let him do that in his wisdom. But I feel he does the greatest disservice to his country if he treats individual isolated whims and aberrations as a necessary chain in history. Let us hope that with the growth and development of true historical research, broad-based on the recognition of the essential unity of men, the distrust between the different sections of our peoples will vanish and India will look forward to a brighter day of cultural amity and harmony among men. In that task, the Indian History Congress will have a great part to play and I have no doubt that the many eminent scholars and research workers who have gathered here this morning will inspire all future works in this country in that noble spirit and ideal.

Ladies and Gentlemen, we meet to-day under the shadow of a grave international conflict. Each day the extent of its conflagration is widening and increasing and the Almighty alone knows how events are going to shape in the future. To my mind the present international situation is fundamentally traceable to the failure on the part of those who control the destinies of mankind to assimilate and profit by the lessons of history. Since the dawn of creation man in his elemental passions has tried to create conflict and war and to spread devastation and havoc in human society; yet behind the pages of history lies the eternal fact that each time man the angel has successfully come out in all his glory in evolving the fundamental unity of men and races in a commonwealth of amity and brotherhood. To-day once again arrogance and intolerance may play their part, but let us hope and have trust in the Almighty Providence that peace, amity and toleration will soon emerge out of the dark shadows.

Delegates of the Indian History Congress, on behalf of the Working Committee may I express my regret if we have anywhere failed to make the best of arrangements for your comfort and convenience during your stay in Calcutta. We have not been consciously guilty of anything that might in any way inconvenience you. I do not deny that there may have been omissions, but I trust that you will kindly realise the tremendous amount of work that we have had to put through within a short time. I am sure, you will condone our shortcomings when I tell you that day after day a conscientious and honest band of workers and folunteers has worked with zeal and devotion and has given of their best. If inspite of this we have failed at any point, it is because at some point or other something happened which could not have been anticipated.

I must express our gratitude at the cordial co-operation we have received from many individuals and institutions who have helped us with funds and in collecting the antiquities and other objects of interest in connection with the Exhibition to be opened this afternoon. Among many others, may I acknowledge the generous contributions of Rs. 1,000 by Dr. Bimala Churn Law, Rs. 500 by Mr. Bahadur Singh Singhee, Rs. 250 by National Sports Club, Rs. 150 by Rai Bahadur Radhakrishna Jalan, Rs. 100 by Sir James Reid-Kay and Rs. 100 by Mr. Atul Ch. Gupta. May I also express our gratitude to the Government of Bengal for the expected generous contribution which has so far been kept a State secret and will be announced by the Hon'ble the Chief Minister when he will open the Exhibition this afternoon. We are also grateful to Dr. Narendranath Law for his kindly undertaking to entertain the delegates to a dinner and to Dr. S. C. Law for his At Home to the delegates at his famous aviary.

In conclusion, it is now my pleasant duty to request Your Excellency to inaugurate the Third Session of the Indian History Congress. We are deeply grateful that Your Excellency, in the midst of many onerous and exacting duties immediately after the assumption of your high office, and specially at the time of the present storm and stress, has been able to find time to open this Congress. Your Excellency has already shown your keen interest in the history of this country by bringing along with Your Excellency an important copper-plate which is bound to open up a dark corner of the history of this Presidency and which Your Excellency recently handed over to the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. Only a couple of days ago, Your Excellency inaugurated the proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission. Once again may I convey to Your Excellency on behalf of the University of Calcutta and on behalf of the Reception Committee our deepest sense of gratefulness. I now request Your Excellency to inaugurate the Third Session of the Indian History Congress.

ADDRESS *

DR. R. C. MAJUMDAR, M.A., PH.D.

President, The Third Session of the Indian History Congress

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I use no language of mere convention when I say that I feel greatly embarrassed in occupying the position in which I find myself to-day. When I was invited to preside over this august assembly, I was highly flattered by the conspicuous honour that was shown to me; indeed I regarded it as the highest honour to which a votary of the science of history in India could aspire. Knowing my own limitations I had no illusions in my own mind that the choice was due to one of those accidents or fortuitous combination of circumstances which seldom recur in the destiny of a man. In a moment of weakness I yielded to the temptation, though I was not unconscious of the fact that I thereby did a great disservice to the University of Calcutta, which I am proud to claim as my own *Alma Mater*. Of my unworthiness for the Presidentship of this Congress I need speak but little, for I am sure the proceedings of this Congress will supply ample evidence thereof—evidence which would be regarded as conclusive by all of you according to canons of historical criticism. But I am troubled by another aspect of the question. Last year my predecessor referred to the clannishness of the Bengalis in respect of the selection of the contributors to the History of Bengal projected by the University of Dacca. I am afraid the choice of President this year will strengthen that conviction, and the University of Calcutta will be accused of the same clannishness. In a later part of this Address I shall have to say something about the charge brought against the University which I have the honour to represent, leaving it to the stalwarts of the Calcutta University to defend themselves as best as they can against the accusations of which I have forewarned them.

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* Delivered as Presidential Address on 15th December, 1939 at the Third Session of the Indian History Congress at Calcutta.

Before I proceed further I think it necessary to discuss some general issues connected with the ideas and objects of this Congress. As is well-known, it was originally conceived as " All-India Modern History Congress " and in its second session the name was changed to " The Indian History Congress," implying thereby an extension in the scope of its activities. To one like me who has never been in the inner council of this institution and who is therefore unaware of its aims and inspirations, the question naturally arises whether the word ' Indian ' does or should qualify the word ' History ' or ' Congress.' The difference between the two is a fundamental one. In one case the deliberations of this Congress are to be confined to Indian history alone. In the other case, the range of its activities is widened so as to embrace the history of the world. The Addresses of the Presidents of the first two sessions and the constitution of the Sections of the Congress prove that the former view has been tacitly accepted. But it is not necessarily the only view possible, as may be shown by reference to sister institutions such, for example, as " The Indian Philosophical Congress," the nearest parallel I can think of the Indian History Congress.

Apart from the constitutional standpoint I would press upon the notice of the delegates assembled here the importance of the study of history, in the widest sense, even in India, and the necessity of a public forum in this country for discussing all historical problems, at least those which either vitally affect the modern world, of which India forms an integral part, or concern those aspects of the mediæval or ancient world on the background, of which alone we can correctly estimate some of the important movements in Indian history, and properly assay the value of her culture and civilisation. In the ancient period, Indian history and civilisation were vitally connected with the great civilisations which flourished in Western Asia and Africa, and later they were still more closely associated with practically the whole of Northern and Eastern Asia. In the mediæval period, India was a vital link in the great chain of Islamic civilisation which bound together a considerable part of the civilised world. Of the modern period I need say but little, as it is too patent to everybody how the events happening almost in the opposite side of the globe are shaping the political destiny of the country and seriously affecting her moral, material, and economic conditions.

It is obvious to me that we cannot follow the currents of Indian history as a phenomenon isolated from the rest of the world. I also find it difficult to believe that a school of Indian History can really develop in India unless our historical studies are widened and placed on a broader basis.

Apart from its immediate or remote bearing upon the problems of Indian history, a critical study of the history of the world is needed to equip us properly for the study and comprehension of history as a science and give us an insight into those vital forces which are destined to shape the future course of human history.

The study of history with reference to these forces constitutes its living interest. It is now commonly agreed that all sciences must be harnessed to the service of mankind. It is well-known how sciences like Physics and Chemistry have contributed to the growth and progress of each nation as well as of human civilisation. Should not the science of history attempt, in its own way, to help the progress of each country, as well as human civilisation as a whole? But if history is to play that *rôle* it must cast off its insularity and must take in its all-embracing view the affairs of the world unlimited by considerations of either time or space.

Unfortunately this aspect of the study of history has been sadly neglected in our country. Apart from the history of India, there is hardly any centre of advanced study in the other branches of history either in our universities or outside them. European history no doubt forms a subject of study in our colleges, and a few universities and colleges have Professors in these branches; but it is difficult to name any individual scholar or any school of studies in India that has made any original investigation in or given any new interpretation of any period or aspect of the history of any country outside India. Whether it is a question of ancient, mediæval, or modern civilisation of the East or of the West, the contribution of India towards the study of their history may be regarded as almost nil. On the other hand, there is hardly any progressive country in the modern world that has not made important contributions to the study of Indian history and civilisation. Apart from the English, the French, the German, the Russians, the Italians and the Americans, even scholars belonging to smaller nationalities like the Czechs, the Poles, the Dutch and the Swedes have made important contributions towards the elucidation of Indian history, culture, and civilisation. Nearly one thousand years ago the great Alberuni referred to the haughty isolation of the Hindus who seemed to believe "that there is no other country on earth but theirs and no other race of men but theirs." This spirit of exclusiveness seems to be a peculiarity of Indian soil. We have paid the penalty for it in the past and may have to pay greater penalty in future, if we cannot rise above it and put ourselves in touch with the currents of human civilisation that flow around us.

I would not labour this point any more, but would earnestly request this Congress to take up in earnest the task of removing the drawbacks in our study of history to which I have referred.

If this Congress approves of a further extension of the scope of its activities on the lines indicated above, it would perhaps be of great advantage, if the newly started Congress of Political Science were amalgamated with it, or, failing that, the two could hold their annual sessions jointly in the same place. The study of History and Political Science is so closely connected that the delegates of these two bodies must have a large common element, and the independent sessions of these two bodies at different times and places are opposed to all considerations of economy and efficiency.

After this brief reference to some of the general issues I shall now pass on to the field of activity which this Congress has set before itself, *viz.*, the study of Indian history. It is a matter of gratification to us all that we have made a considerable headway in this line during the last fifty years, and already Indian scholars have proved themselves ready and fit to take up the work which has been so worthily performed so long by a band of European and American scholars. I shall not appropriate to myself the task, which properly belongs to the Presidents of the different Sections, of reviewing at length the progress achieved by Indian scholars in the study of different periods of Indian history. I would, however, like to make a few observations of a general nature pertaining to this study.

Signs are not wanting that ere long the study and research in Europe and America will cease to count as appreciable factors in the progress of Indology. Indian scholars should, therefore, be prepared to shoulder the main responsibility of maintaining the high level that this study has already reached, and making it wider and richer in content with every passing year. Our period of apprenticeship must be regarded as over, and we must not be satisfied any longer with any production which does not reach the highest quality.

It is, therefore, necessary to take note of the dangers and pitfalls that may affect or obstruct the proper development of the study of Indology in future. While cold neglect and almost utter indifference characterise our attitude towards the history of other countries, an ardent passion and zealous enthusiasm for the history of India is perceptibly growing in this country. This is, undoubtedly, a good sign and will be of immense help so long as it serves as a healthy stimulus to this study. But over-enthusiasm has also its dangers, inasmuch as it is likely to deflect our mind from that detached attitude and critical spirit which must always guide our studies. If we review the historical writings in India of recent years we may note that to a certain extent, unfortunately not very negligible though not yet very substantial, they are inspired by a desire to serve a cause other than that of truth. On a broad analysis these causes may be described as regional and denominational. In view of the importance of the subject I would like to say a few words on each of these, even at the risk of being misunderstood.

Recently I have come across a number of works the main object of which was, to use the words of the authors, to "defend the cause of South India." Among other things they sought to establish that the Aryan conquest of India is a fairy tale, that the Brahmins of India were not Aryans but Dravidians, that the caste system is a purely Dravidian institution, and, lastly, that modern Hinduism is purely Dravidian and could not be regarded as Aryan by any stretch of imagination. This is, of course, an extreme example, and I do not imply in any way that a considerable number of South Indian historians share these views. But they show the nature of the danger that exists, and against which we must guard ourselves. It must be admitted also that they are but reactions against similar regional bias in favour of Northern India manifested in past historical writings.

This regional bias reveals itself in other forms, which are less extreme, but for that very reason more harmful; for as the absurdity does not lie on the very face, it is far more liable to lead us astray. One of the important underlying causes of the evil is that scholars seldom extend their special studies to the history of any province but their own. How far this evil has grown may be illustrated by a concrete example within my experience. As most of you are aware the University of Dacca has recently undertaken to publish a History of Bengal, and I was appointed the Editor of the first volume dealing with the period from the earliest times to 1200 A.D. When we set about to draw up a list of contributors to the different chapters we naturally confined our selection to scholars who had already given evidence of their knowledge of the subject or subjects allotted to them. When the list was finally drawn up it comprised only people of this Presidency. This has drawn upon us the sarcasm of certain sections to which a pointed reference was made by the President of this Congress last year. " This History of Bengal," said he, " looks like History of Bengal by Bengalis and thus smacks, they say, of clannishness." But what are the real facts? Could anybody point out the name of a single scholar outside this Presidency alive to-day who has substantially contributed to our knowledge of the History of Bengal? A few concrete illustrations would bring home this point to everyone. More than fifty inscriptions have been discovered in Bengal and Bihar throwing light on the history of Bengal. Barring one or two very brief records not one of these inscriptions has found an editor outside this Province. Hardly a single non-Bengali scholar alive to-day has ever written anything to elucidate the general history of Bengal of any particular period. Even the Palas, whose empire at one time stretched from the Indus to the upper waters of the Brahmaputra, have evoked little interest in the heart of any Indian scholar outside Bengal. We have compiled a list of articles in various antiquarian journals relating to the history of Bengal. Though their number runs up to several hundreds those written by Indian scholars outside Bengal would not exceed a dozen, and even these are mostly on isolated topics. Now in view of the above circumstances was it not almost inevitable that the list of writers should include only Bengalis? This is regrettable, no doubt, and the state of affairs calls for remedy. In this connection I am happy and proud to be able to say that my *Alma Mater*, the University of Calcutta, has set an example which others might follow. Thanks to the foresight and national outlook of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee of revered memory, provision has been made in this great seat of learning for the study of various branches of Indian History and the different Vernaculars of India. Even the subjects for the ordinary M.A. course include specialised and critical study of the inscriptions of almost all parts of India, and subjects like the history of the Sikhs, Rajputs and Marathas. But, what is more important, the alumni of this University have made valuable contributions to the study of the history of different provinces of India. It would be difficult to name any important region or any notable dynasty in ancient India, except perhaps in the extreme south, on the history of which Bengali scholars have not thrown important light. I cite this only with a view to showing what an enlightened and liberal educational policy, like that initiated by Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, might do for the rest of India. It should be our common aim and common endeavour to break down the barrier of provincialism in our historical studies. Even apart from undertaking original researches, it would be of great help if the historian of one province keeps himself abreast of the recent studies in the history of other provinces correlated to his own study. It would at least help him in getting a better perspective of history and save us from unhappy utterances calculated to foster provincial misunderstandings. It would be easy to cite instances where even a learned scholar, writing the history of his own province, has shown lamentable ignorance and betrayed unjustifiable prejudices against the history of a neighbouring province, even though it is closely connected with his own study. As a matter of fact, the provincial outlook, in historical studies as in political and economic life, is a growing menace in India to-day, and we should make an earnest effort to remove it before it is too late.

In view of the risk of provincialism one might desire that history should have a nationalist outlook. But that has also its own dangers. Indian history already shows signs of being affected by the passing currents of the national movement. Some have deliberately sought to use our ancient history as an element in our national fight, and reconstrued it with a view to maintaining that everything in our past was beyond cavil or criticism, and that it contained almost all the elements of progress which we notice in the modern world. The same spirit manifests itself in a slightly modified form in what is known as communalism. This seeks to interpret history in terms of the deep-rooted beliefs and sentiments of a community, and is guided more by sentimentalism and prejudices than by sober reason.

The danger arising from these two sources may be likened to what is happening in Europe in totalitarian countries where history is being written to order with a view to suiting particular theories and practices about society and government. The historians of India are in a much happier position, as their hands have not yet been tied by Government, and they are free to devise their own remedies. This statement is, however, subject to a slight qualification, for tendencies of this nature can be perceived in the actions of certain Local Governments and in the scheme of education drawn up at Wardha. They have not as yet attracted the general notice of historians as they are confined to historical texts used in schools. But the tendency is unmistakable, and this assembled body of historians cannot afford to ignore the danger. The Wardha scheme demands that Indian history should be taught with a view to emphasising the superiority of non-violence in all its phases.

This does not differ, in essential principles, from the direction given by certain Local Governments that text-books used in schools should not mention certain facts, not because they are untrue, but because they are calculated to rouse communal passions in the impressionable hearts of boys. It must be freely admitted that text-books should not deliberately disseminate cults of violence or arouse or inflame communal passions or hatred. It is not, however, quite so clear why one should avoid any reference either to the wars of great emperors in India or to the intolerant or immoral acts of a king belonging to any particular community, simply because the former might lessen the faith of the boys in the cult of non-violence, and the latter might dispel the illusion of students that no king belonging to their community could do any wrong. For it may be argued that one of the objects of the study of history is to inculcate in the minds of boys love for truth, right and justice, and an aversion towards untruth, wrong and injustice, and this can best be done by holding out before their eyes a true picture of the lives and careers of great historical figures. However, as this is a controversial point, I would not like to discuss it further, or pronounce any definite opinion on it, beyond indicating the danger, which in my opinion is real and serious. The scope of the evil is narrow yet, but there is no guarantee that it may not be widened in future. For if the tender minds of boys may be regarded as an excuse for perverting historical texts in schools, the impressionable age of youth, and the potential power of doing evil in the case of adults may be offered as excuses in future for adopting the same attitude in respect of texts used in colleges and Universities or even products of more advanced study and research, as is actually the case in some Indian states.

In this connection I would respectfully differ from an observation made by the first President of this Congress, *viz.*; that in India we have not arrived at a stage when the differences of religion could be completely ignored in our treatment of controversial periods of Indian history. If this were true, the study of Indian history by Indians would be of little worth, and the hope of founding a school of Indian history would remain an idle dream. It is my firm conviction that whatever may be the case with average writers and politicians, there are historians, and their number is not negligible, who are in a position to rise above religious and communal prejudices, and it is for them to give the lead to others by insisting upon a study of history according to correct scientific principles.

The scientific study of history is based on two great principles, *viz.*, the critical spirit in the analysis and examination of data and a sincere quest for truth in a detached spirit, without prejudices, passions, or pre-conceived notions of any kind. Those who uphold the cause of scientific study of history must rigidly and scrupulously follow these principles. But something more is needed to combat the evils I have referred to above. In order to ensure the study of history in a proper critical method, any deviation from it under the influence of nationalism, communalism, or racial or provincial bias must be ruthlessly exposed. This should be regarded as a bounden duty specially by those who already occupy an eminent position in this branch of study. In this task they should not be deterred or deflected in any way by any personal considerations, or misconceived spirit of loyalty to any particular group or community. The historians should pay homage and allegiance only to truth, and everything else must be sacrificed to this loyalty.

I may cite an instance to show how uncritical methods flourish, not only on account of the absence of such criticism, but even by a sort of tacit encouragement from well-known scholars. In 1938 appeared the first volume of a work on Ancient India which seeks to deal with the period 900 B.C. to 100 A.D. in four volumes. The author describes it on the title page as " a marvellous array of wholly new and eye-opening theories," and in a descriptive sketch, which accompanies the book, it is referred to as " full of bombshell-like and astounding theories." This book defies all canons of critical study, and contains copious examples of almost every type of errors of commission or omission which have ever disfigured a book with any pretension to originality. Yet a distinguished historian has written its Foreword, and we are told that a vernacular edition of the work has received the sanction of a Local Government and a local University. The writer of the Foreword has no doubt referred to its lack of critical spirit, but has done so in very guarded language and almost in an apologetic tone. On the other hand he has referred to the conscientious care and ability with which the great self-imposed task has been performed. Encouraged by all these the author has brought out the second volume which exhibits the same characteristics as the first. Now, it appears to me that such a publication discredits the fair name of Indian scholarship, and instead of encouraging it in any way, the learned scholars should fearlessly point out its absolute uncritical character. As the great Kautilya put it centuries ago, anarchy and confusion prevail if the *daṇḍa* is weakly wielded. This is as much true of political as literary domains. The eminent historians of India should act as the *daṇḍa-dharas* and preserve the peace and purity of their domain by a proper exercise of their power and authority.

Criticism should thus play an important part in maintaining the high standard of historical studies. But such criticism, in order to be useful, must be healthy in spirit and fair in tone. It should not be a disguise for a thinly-veiled abuse, or a pretext for serving ignoble selfish ends. Above all it must not degenerate into a personal squabble ending in mutual recriminations. We have to regretfully admit that our experiences in the past have not been very reassuring in this respect, but let us hope of a better state of things in future. Like the critical spirit of Western scholars, the charity, courtesy, and generosity which characterise their utterances and relations with one another might well serve as our model.

I am afraid I have already overstepped the limits of your patience. But before I conclude I should like to make a few observations on the necessity of filling in some important gaps in our Indological studies.

I have already referred to the lack of arrangement and facility for some of the subsidiary studies which are necessary for a proper appreciation of Indian history. As to the study of Indian history itself, great progress has no doubt been made, but much yet remains to be done, both in respect of collecting materials, as well as interpreting and co-ordinating them. The first President of this Congress treated this subject in his address with an elaborate survey and wealth of details worthy of his great scholarship. I do not wish to traverse the same ground but shall confine myself to the ancient period of Indian history ending in 1200 A.D. which was not dealt with by him.

One great shortcoming in Indian scholarship is the lack of first-hand knowledge about the Chinese, Tibetan and other foreign sources of Indian history. While studying the history of the Far East, I was struck by the amount of work done by French and Dutch savants by way of collecting all the important data contained in Chinese and other foreign literatures regarding the history of the Far East. They contain, only incidentally, valuable references to India which were otherwise unknown to me. I am convinced that a systematic exploration of Chinese and Tibetan literature would reveal new data for the history of ancient and mediæval India. The Tibetan evidence, in particular, is of inestimable value in regard to the history of Eastern India. Not only are important works in these languages still unexplored, but even those that are known from translations made long ago require a fresh study and revision in the light of recent discoveries in Indian history. No Indian scholar, except the late Saratchandra

Das, has done any appreciable work in this line, and it still remains a great desideratum in our Indological studies.

As regards Greek and Latin sources, Indian scholarship has taken but little part in these studies, but this drawback is not very keenly felt as we have excellent translations of all the important books made by competent classical scholars. Regarding Arabic and Persian sources also we have translations of many important books, mostly by European scholars, but these need revision, and the first President of the Congress has already drawn our attention to this subject.

In short it is now essential for further progress of Indological studies that all the important data contained in foreign literature should be critically studied in the original and made available in the English language. My esteemed friend Prof. K. A. Nilkanta Sastri, the President of an important section of this Congress, has shown the way in this direction in his recent book "Foreign Notices of South India." He had to base his work upon translations of foreign texts, but still it is a very valuable compilation and should be supplemented by other scholars in respect of different regions of India in whose history they are specially interested. But it ought to be the business of some Indian scholars to acquire knowledge of these various foreign languages so that they may critically study the original sources and supplement and correct the data compiled from translations in European languages.

Apart from this study of original foreign sources, there are certain important epochs or aspects of Indian history which require further attention.

Beginning with the most ancient period that is now revealing itself by the excavations in the lower Indus valley and the adjoining regions, we must confess that Indian scholarship has not yet engaged itself in the task to any extent commensurate with its importance. In this connection I must pay my tribute of respect to late Mr. Nanigopal Majumdar whose promising career in

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this field of study was cut short by a terrible tragedy. It is now necessary that younger scholars should take up the work in right earnest and begin by equipping themselves with the subsidiary branches of knowledge essential for the study. This can only be done by the co-operation of the Archæological Department with the Universities. Some young brilliant students of the University should be granted adequate scholarship for a fairly long term in order to work under the guidance of the Archæological Department which alone can provide all necessary facilities to them. May I appeal to the great Indologist, who now presides over the destiny of the Archæological Department, to bestow his serious thoughts on this important question? He may, with co-operation of Universities if necessary, take adequate steps to bring into being, within a few years, a band of Indian scholars with a suitable training in this very important branch of Indological study.

The discovery of the Indus valley civilisation has brought into prominence the wide gap in our knowledge in respect of the period intervening between two well-known epochs of civilisation, *viz.*, the Rigvedic and the Puranic. We have now to give up the current theory of a normal and somewhat simple process of evolution leading from the one to the other. The growth of art, religion and economic conceptions in India was evidently a much more complex process, and more than one independent factor must have contributed to it. The Vedic and the Indus valley civilisations may be likened to the Ganges and the Jumna flowing parallel for a long distance before they united their waters to form the mighty river of Hindu civilisation which took definite shape during the first millennium B.C. We are now painfully conscious of our ignorance of the early courses of these two streams of influence. It is, therefore, necessary to devote our serious attention to the study of that period of Indian history which precedes the middle of the first millennium before Christ. The chief obstacle in this study is the absence of all kinds of evidence other than literary. But signs are not wanting that precious archæological materials would be available if a proper search is made for them. Here again, the Archæological Department must come to the aid of Indology. Up to the discoveries of Mohenjo-daro the efforts of this Department were mostly confined to excavations of sites and strata which do not go far beyond the Maurya period. But now the chief energy and resources of the Department should be devoted towards the discovery and exploration of those sites which are likely to yield materials for the study of the history of the period preceding 500 B.C.

Coming down to a much later preiod there is one important branch of study which requires particular mention. The problem of Greater India, *i.e.*, the study of Indian culture and civilisation in Central, Eastern and South-eastern Asia, has recently engaged the attention of scholars, and the Greater India Society in Calcutta is a visible sign of the growing interest in this subject. But this study is of such vital importance to Indian history that more Indian scholars should seriously take it up. The necessary equipments for this study are a working knowledge of Dutch and French, and an acquaintance with the old Khmer and Kawi languages. Adequate arrangements can easily be made by big Universities for training young and promising scholars in this line of study. The history of the Far East is also important for the mediæval period of Indian history. For not only was there a very constant and intimate intercourse between India and these regions throughout the mediæval period, but there are also very good grounds for the belief that it was a colony of Indian Muslims who ultimately established their faith over a vast area in Sumatra, Java and the Malay Peninsula, more by methods of peaceful penetration than by actual military campaigns. This is a very interesting phase of Indo-Muslim history which ought to be more carefully studied.

I would not multiply instances of wide gaps in our knowledge of Indian history and culture which require to be filled up. What is needed now is a systematic planning of our activities. Planning is now the order of the day all over the world and Indologists cannot do without it. We have now to co-ordinate our efforts in order to pursue a carefully planned scheme based on our needs and resources, so that duplication and waste of energy may be avoided, and the study of Indology may achieve an all-round progress.

One of the first aims of our co-ordinated efforts should be the preparation of a comprehensive history of India. Need for this has long been felt and various schemes have been set on foot. It found a prominent place in the last year's Presidential address of this Congress, and I am sure the earnest appeal of Dr. Bhandarkar would meet with a ready response from many. This Congress ought to take up this question in right earnest and adopt practical measures to accomplish the object within a definite period of time.

In order to achieve this object and properly direct the course of Indological studies it is eminently desirable that the activities of this Congress should not be confined to an annual session, but should embrace in its scope the formation of what may be regarded as a national academy of historical studies. Indian Science Congress has already formed such a body. The Indian Oriental Conference is exploring the possibility of founding a similar institution on an ambitious scale, but the response obtained so far is anything but encouraging. Perhaps the chance of success would be greater if we confine our attention to a more restricted field like History in general or Indian History in particular, and I would commend this project to your serious consideration.

Fellow-delegates, I have tried to place before you some practical suggestions for the promotion of Indological studies in our country. I do not propose to discuss any intricate problem of history or abstract theories and principles relating to its study, as I have neither the time nor capacity for it. I have already taken much of your time and thank you for the patience with which you have listened to my rambling discours

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CALCUTTA REVIEW

JANUARY, 1940

THE SHAKESPEAREAN PUZZLE—ENDEAVOURS AFTER ITS SOLUTION

Sir P. C. Rây

III

Authorship Going A-Begging

We had occasion to observe incidentally in the preceding article that in the time of Shakespeare and his predecessors, drama had not, as a piece of literature, asserted itself. The playwrights produced their pieces in obedience to the call of the theatre-managers and usually parted with the copyrights for a definite sum of money and the productions belonged to the repertories of the companies.[1] The dramatist, as was the general custom of the day, retained absolutely no interest in the play and consequently had nothing to do with the publication of it. The theatrical manager might or might not accord his consent to the publication of the dramas and many of them thought it against their ' peculiar profit ' to have those pieces printed lest the curiosity of the public would be satisfied and the play would fail to attract a good audience. Indeed, it is definitely known that Nashe, Heywood and Marston each had copiously apologised for their adopting a very unusual course of seeing some of their dramas through the Press. Thus in his famous book, *The Terrors of the Night* (1593) and elsewhere Nashe apologetically observes :

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[1] When an author sold his piece to the sharers or proprietors of a theatre, it could not be performed by any other company, and remained for several years unpublished ; but when that was not the case, he printed it for sale, to which many seem to have been induced from an apprehension that an imperfect copy might be issued from the press without their consent. The customary price of the copy of a play, in the time of Shakespeare, appears to have been twenty nobles, or six pounds thirteen shillings and four pence.—Malone, Vol. III, p. 159 *et seq.*

"As touching this short gloss or annotation on the foolish Terrors of the Night, you partly are acquainted from whose motive imposition it first proceeded, as also what strange sudden cause necessarily produced that motion. A long time since hath it lain suppressed by me, until the urgent importunity of a kind friend of mine (to whom I was sundry ways beholding) wrested a copy from me. That copy progressed from one scrivener's shop to another, and at length grew so common that it was ready to be hung out for one of their signs, like a pair of indentures. Whereupon I thought it as good for me to reap the fruit of my own labours, as to let some unskilful pen-man or noverint-maker starch his ruff and newspade his beard with the benefit he made of them."

Marston, who dedicated his works to oblivion,[1] so careless was he of his posthumous fame, is constrained to publish some of his works and offers an argument that if he himself does not publish them others would do and would thereby do him greater injustice.

Similarly Thomas Heywood, a prolific writer who, as he himself claims, is the author of some 220 plays mostly by himself and few only in collaboration with others, offers more than once convincing arguments for departing from the usual custom. In his *Rape of Lucrece*, he speaks:

" . . . . Though some have used a double sale of their labours. first to the stage and after to the press, for my own part I here proclaim myself ever faithful to the first and never guilty of the last. Yet since some of my plays have (unknown to me, and without any of my direction) accidentally come into the printer's hands, and therefore so corrupt and mangled (copied only by the ear) that I have been as unable to know them, as ashamed to challenge them, this, therefore, I was the willinger to furnish out in his native habit."

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[1] "Let others pray
For ever their faire poems flourish may,
But as for mee, hungry oblivion
Devour mee quick, accept my orizon."

In another of his works," If you know not me you know nobody," Heywood says :

> " Some by stenography drew
> Put it in print, scarce one word true"

and hence justifies his publishing the work. Heywood on one occasion has a fling at Ben Jonson for his superintending all his works in a folio edition, thereby seeking permanence of his works as literature and observes:

" True it is that my plays are not exposed unto the world in volumes, to bear the title of works (as others) ; one reason is that many of them by shifting and change of Companies have been negligently lost ; others are still retained in the hands of some actors who think it against their peculiar profit to have come in print ; and a third, that it never was any great ambition in me, to be in this kind voluminously read."

But, indeed, this author too was forced unwillingly to publish his works mainly on the same grounds that actuated Marston to publish his. These instances go definitely to show that in the Elizabethan days publication of works added no feather to the authors' cap. Thus, sons of nobility born with silver spoons in their mouths could well cultivate letters and muses but under all circumstances they took scrupulous care to see that none of their works was published. Indeed, the general custom of the day was the circulation of these works in manuscript among the chosen friends of the author.[1]

Domestic tragedies are always published anonymously (Malone). Let us come to a few concrete cases. In the history of early English drama it may be well established that anonymous plays were generally very common and many of them, today, ' are probably due to untraced pens.'

According to George Saintsbury, " The large majority of Elizabethan plays which may be classed as domestic drama proper are anonymous."[2] Even *Gorbuduc*, the earliest English play to be written-in blank verse, was published surreptitiously and hesitatingly. Similarly of *Tamburlaine* and *The Spanish Tragedy* E. K. Chambers observes that "Marlowe's authorship of *Tamburlaine* is a matter of inference; it is only by an accident that we know *The Spanish Tragedy* to be of Kyd's.[1] Then again the famous play of *The Battle of Alcazar* (1594),[2] as Boas[3] puts it, is almost undoubtedly from Peele's hand and falls under the heading of anonymous plays.

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[1] Elizabethan poets appear to have had little desire to see their works in print. They wrote to please their friends, or for their own delight, not for the general public. Their poems were passed about in manuscript or read to their friends, and then might, perhaps, find their way into some of the popular miscellanies of verse. Few of Raleigh's poems appeared with his name during his life-time, and it was long after his death before any attempt was made to identify or collect his scattered verses. Louise Creighton—*Camb. Hist. of Eng. Lit.*, Vol. IV.

[2] *Cambridge History of English Literature*, Vol. VI, p. 95.

From the above extracts and examples, it may be clearly understood, why so many dramas—some of which have survived to our day and are considered as of surpassing excellence—have had their authorship beyond our means of identification and are very often matters for speculation and conjectures.

A notable instance is afforded by *Edward III*, which in some places at least approached the master-hand of Shakespeare. It was published in the first place anonymously, its author perhaps never for a moment expecting that his production would ever be handed down to posterity. For nearly a century and a quarter nobody cared to enquire of its authorship, until Capell in his *Gentleman's Prolusions* (1760) ascribed it to Shakespeare on the simple ground that no one else could ever produce such a masterpiece. In this connection it needs to be observed here that there was much in common among the Elizabethan writers so that it is extremely difficult to tell definitely the name of the author from internal evidences alone. Of Marlowe, who wielded his blank verse with remarkable effect, Sidney Lee remarks, "He had his imitators from whom he is not except in his most exalted moments always distinguishable."[3] What is true of Marlowe is literally true of all poets and dramatists belonging to the age. In order to determine the authorship of any particular play, internal evidence must be coupled with external ones, but these too, when considered alone, would mislead critics in ascertaining definitely from whose pen the play has emanated. Thus at one time it was firmly believed that *Mucedorous, Fair Em* and *Merry Devil of Edmonton* were three plays composed by Shakespeare, for no other reason except that these three plays were bound together, labelled

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[1] To quote Steevens: "It appears from Heywood's *Actor's Vindication* that Thomas Kyd was the author of *The Spanish Tragedy.*"

[2] Boas *Shakespeare and his Predecessors.*

[3] S. Lee. Article on Marlowe—*Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. XXXVI, p. 185.

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" Shakespeare Volume I " and kept in the library of King Charles II. In fact, for this casual circumstance these three plays had been included in the third folio of Shakespeare.

The unreliable nature of the merely external evidences may further be noticed from the following fact. It was traditionally accepted at one time that the famous play " Sir John Old Castle " was the production of Shakespeare's pen, perhaps due entirely to the enormous popularity it enjoyed among the theatre-going public. Subsequently, with the discovery of Henslowe papers in the library of Alleyn's Dulwich College, it has been proved beyond doubt to be a joint-production of as many as four dramatists, namely, Drayton, Hathway, Munday and Wilson. Thus it may be observed here that neither the internal nor the external evidence alone could establish the authorship of an anonymous Elizabethan drama. In order to arrive at the most plausible decision regarding the disputed authorship both internal and external evidence (as many of them as are available today) need be considered.

Now, why this policy of publishing plays anonymously was so commonly pursued and what was the relation of the dramatist with his dramas ? In the preceding chapter we have tried to show the actual status of the playwrights in the society and this question of position and status was somewhat responsible for the anonymous publication of plays. Besides, the Elizabethan authors were, as a rule, more concerned with the immediate object of earning their livelihood, cared more for a paltry sum of money, three to five pounds, the usual price of a manuscript in those days, than the perpetuation of their name and fame. If Shakespeare represents the Elizabethan poets in general, the following observation of Samuel Johnson would appear exceedingly illustrative :

" It does not appear that Shakespeare thought his works worthy of posterity, that he levied any ideal tribute upon future times or had any further prospect than of present popularity and present profit. When his plays had been acted, his hope was at an end ; he solicited no additions of honour from the reader. . . . . . . So careless was this great poet of future fame that, though he retired to ease and plenty, while he was yet little *declined into the vale of years*, before he could be disgusted with fatigue, or disabled by infirmity, he made no collection of his works, nor desired to rescue those that had been already published from the depravations that obscured them, or secure to the rest a better destiny, by giving them to the world in their genuine state."

In fact, the Elizabethan writers had no definite notion regarding permanent literature and could never dream for a moment that even the corrupt and mangled lines from their pens would ever be considered fit subjects of most careful study by persons who would follow them after a lapse of three or four long centuries. Ben Jonson was an exception, but he had to bear flings from fellow dramatists for his self-consciousness in superintending the publication of his complete works in a folio edition.

Thus nobody would wonder to come across instances where publishers, theatre managers or even the players were found to take liberties with plays by their predecessors or contemporaries.[1] Sir Sidney Lee, in his article on the life of Marlowe in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, adduces a notable example. To quote him:

"As in most of Marlowe's plays, some buffoonery figures in the extant texts of 'Tamburlaine'; but Marlowe's reprobation in the prologue of the conceits of clownage seems to clear him of responsiblity for it. Richard Jones, the publisher, in his preface states that he purposely omitted 'some fould and frivolous gestures digressing and in my poor opinion far unmeet of the matter.'" A peep over the pages of the invaluable Henslowe's diary will reveal how ostentatiously this custom of rewriting and retouching of old plays was followed towards the close of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century. Even Ben Jonson, who at times scoffed at the custom and ridiculed those who took up the task as *play-patchers* and *play-dressers*, could himself claim no exemption from the charge he levelled against others. From the following entry in the said diary it appears that he himself did not hesitate to rewrite earlier productions from others' pens.

"Lent unto Mr. Alleyn, the 25th September, 1601, to Lend unto Bengemen Johnson upon his writing of his adicians in Geronymo the some of . . . . . . xxxxs.[2]

It is indeed curious to note how modern critics differ in their opinions on the authorship of any particular play. Some picked up examples will greatly impress our readers and at the beginning we would like to quote Tucker Brook, who, in his *Shakespeare Apocrypha*, observes of *Thomas Lord Cromwell*:

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[1] We have a sufficient instance of the liberties taken by the actors, in an old pamphlet by Nash, called *Lenten Stuff, with the prayse of the red Herring*, 4to 1599, where he assures us that in a play of his, called *The Isle of Dogs*, "*Foure acts*, without his consent, or the leaste guesse of his drift or scope, were supplied by the players."—Malone, Vol. I, p. 354.

[2] Henslowe's diary (Edited by W. W. Greg), Vol. I.

"Tieck and Schlegel, to their lasting discredit, have defended the genuineness of this play, and Ulrici also is inclined, against his better judgment, to accept it as a very early work of Shakespeare, anterior to 1592. Hopkinson assigns the main part of the performance to Greene, but he alone of English critics would like to establish Shakespeare's connexion as reviser of the greater part of the comic scenes . . . . ."

Regarding the authorship of *The Troublesome Reign of King John* (1587), Malone suggests Marlowe as the author while Pope suggests Shakespeare in collaboration with Rowley. Fleay in modern times attributes this to the credit of Greene, Peele and Lodge. Similarly *Locrine* has been assigned to Marlowe by Malone, to Peele by Fleay, to Greene by Brooke and to the collaboration of Peele and Greene by Robertson. Again, the authorship of *The Taming of a Shrew*—the source play of Shakespeare's *The Taming of the Shrew* has been attributed by different critics to Kyd, Marlowe, Greene and Peele by turns.

Now it will, indeed, be interesting to adduce here a few typical examples as to the nature of evidences which have gone, though accidentally, to fix the authorship of several well-known dramatic pieces. Take, for example, Greene's *Orlando Furioso*. The question of its authorship would ever have remained unsolved had it not been for the chance discovery of the following lines:

"Master R. G., would it not make you blush — if you sold *Orlando Furioso* to the Queen's players for twenty nobles, and when they were in the country, sold the same play to Lord Admiral's men, for as much more ? Was not this plain coney-catching, M. G." [1]

It has been observed above that Marlowe's authorship of *Tamburlaine* is a matter of inference.[2]

"The only external contemporary testimony to Marlowe's authorship of the piece is a reference by Garbriel Harvey to Marlowe, under the pseudonym of 'Tamburlaine,' in 1593.'"[3] (*Dict. Nat. Bio.*— Marlowe.)

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[1] *Defence of Coney Catching* (1592) ; here R. G. and M. G. denote Robert Greene and Master Greene respectively.

[2] See *ante*, p. 4.

Moreover In his *Mourning Garment* Greene again ridiculed 'the life of Tomlivolin,' *i.e.*, Tamburlaine.

Let us consider one more example and that of the famous piece *Arraignment of Paris.* Its authorship too would puzzle the most devoted critic until the following lines were searched out from Nashe's epistle to Greene's *Menaphon.* In the said epistle Nashe refers to Peele "whose first increase the *Arraignment of Paris* might plead to your opinions his pregnant dexterity of wit and manifold variety of invention, wherein (*me indica*) he goeth a step beyond all that write."

From the above it is thus evident why so many dramatic pieces of undoubted merit have come down to us whose authorship often baffles the critic. Indeed, scores of manuscripts have been lost to us simply because nobody ever cared to preserve them. Warburton, who edited Shakespeare in 1747, had his table littered with several rare manuscripts of plays labouriously collected by him. But as they were lying unused and apparently neglected, his cook tore out the pages of the manuscripts and used them as covers for the pies, served on the table. Hence it is found that "of the 280 plays mentioned by Henslowe about one in seven survives." According to G. B. Harrison, "very little is known of what was happening in the Elizabethan theatres before 1592, although at that time there were three London theatres and several London Companies who must between them have been producing at least fifty new plays a year. Yet of the plays written for the professional companies between 1560 and 1590 less than half a dozen have survived in print. As yet no one thought that such plays were worth printing, reading or recording."

Very many plays of this period have come down to our hands not from authentic stage copies but from manuscript copies subsequently procured, as necessity arose, from the reading public who might have been in possession of these.[1]

Of *Honest Man's Fortune* and *Bonduca,* Chambers records :

"The two latter must have been recovered before the Beaumont and Fletcher Folio of 1647 was printed, and when a transcript of *Bonduca* was wanted it was supplied not from the sources indicated but from the author's 'foule papers' . . . . . when the transcript came to be made part of the necessary material was missing and the book-keeper wrote in apology:

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[1] John Donne (b. 1573, d. 1631) was one of the best writers of love lyrics but ultimately became a priest in Anglican orders.

"In 1614, when about to cross the Rubicon, Donne thought of hurriedly collecting and publishing his poems before the doing so could be deemed an actual scandal to his office. He had, apparently, no autograph copies, at least of many of them, but was driven to apply to his friends."—Grierson, *Camb. Hist. of English Lit.*, Vol. IV.

'The occasion why these are wanting here, the booke whereby it was first Acted from is lost: and this hath beene transcribed from the fowle papers of the Authors which were founde'."[1]

We now propose to turn our attention to the publications of our immortal poet. Of his thirty-seven plays only seventeen were published before 1623, the year of the publication of the first Folio, excluding *Pericles—Prince of Tyre,* which the Folio-editors thought wise to leave behind, thirty-six pieces from Shakespeare's pen were included in the Folio, so that as many as twenty plays were published in the Folio for the first time evidently with Shakespeare's name as their author. From the adjoining table it will be apparent that the seven anonymous productions are doubtlessly from Shakespeare's pen, because, had it not been so, Heminge and Condell, the poet's fellow actors and managers of the Globe theatre, would not have included them in the Folio.

Year.	Plays First published with Shakespeare's name.	Anonymous plays credited to Shakespeare's name.	Remarks.
1594		Titus Andronicus	
1597		Richard II, III, Romeo and Juliet.	2nd Quarto newly corrected and augmented.
1598	Love's Labour's Lost	Henry IV	
1599	Henry IV	Henry V	
1600	Midsummer Night's Dream, Merchant of Venice, Much Ado about Nothing.	Titus Andronicus	
1602	Merry Wives of Windsor.	Henry V	
1603	Hamlet		
1604	Hamlet, Henry IV		

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[1] E. K. Chambers, *Life of William Shakespeare,* Vol. I, pp. 125 and 151.

Year.	Plays First published with Shakespeare's name.	Anonymous plays credited to Shakespeare's name.	Remarks.
1608	King Lear, Henry IV		
1609	Troilus and Cressida	Romeo and Juliet	2nd Quarto this year of T. and C.
1611	Hamlet	Titus and Andronicus	
1613	Henry IV		
1619	King Lear, Merry Wives	Henry V	
1622	Othello		
1623	Henry IV		

Now the Folio is the most authentic record of Shakespearean productions and "it requires," as Sir E. K. Chambers holds "deference as coming from men who were in the best position to know the facts."[1]

These plays were generally popular and edition after edition became exhausted within a very short space of time. It is a puzzle proper to account for this because there were a large number of plays which were claimed to be of Shakespeare practically on no ground except their popularity and vague initials, *e.g.*, W. S., W. Sh., and so on. These initials were rather fabrications of unscrupulous stationers and the question of their authorship can be summarily disposed of.

Let us take these publications in chronological order. The year 1594 saw the publication of the first anonymous quarto of *Titus Andronicus* and there was no other Shakespearean publication that year. This play has now been declared professedly of Marloweian type and is unquestionably the work of Shakespeare's nonage. Besides there is Ravenscroft's evidence in 1687, that is about three-quraters of a century after Shakespeare's death, that this play was the work of some unknown or forgotten dramatist and Shakespeare was only responsible for its revision or retouching. But most of the scholars would dismiss Ravenscroft's statement as a mere tradition without any corroborative evidence.

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[1] *Life of William Shakespeare,* Vol. I, p. 207.

In 1595 *Locrine* was published with an initial W.S. which may mean William Sly or Wentworth Smith. We may safely discard it from the list of our author's works.

There has been no publication of Shakespeare's work during 1596 except Edward III—an apocryphal one—so that we leave it aside.

The year 1597 has been a very productive year so far as Shakespearean publications are concerned. *Richard II, Richard III* and *Romeo and Juliet* came out of the press anonymously in the course of this year.

In 1598 Shakespeare's name was printed as the author for the first time on the title page of *Love's Labour's Lost.* Within a year copies of *Richard II* and *Richard III* were all exhausted and in 1598 these two quartos were reprinted with Shakespeare's name as the author. Over and above this, both parts of *Henry IV* were brought out anonymously. It is curious to note that though our poet had gained much popularity among the theatre-going public, still his works appeared mostly anonymous while, simultaneously, the piratical publishers were taking advantage of his popularity to father on him several pieces from others' pens.

There is no new publication in 1599; the second quarto of *Romeo and Juliet* was out this year and that anonymously but simultaneously the 2nd quarto of *Henry IV* came out with Shakespeare's name as the author on the title page.

Midsummer Night's Dream, Merchant of Venice, Much Ado about Nothing and *Henry V* were all published in 1600. Of these only *Henry V* was published anonymously and others with the author's name. *Henry V* is said to be the most favourite hero of Shakespeare and it is strange to observe that this play, too, was published anonymously. From this year the practice of publishing anonymous plays were, however, discontinued.

Commenting on the rate of his dramatic production Sir Walter Raleigh, in his *William Shakespeare* (English Men of Letters series), observes:

"There is good reason to think that many of his comedies are recasts of his own earlier versions now lost to us. It is wrong to suppose that these earlier versions were revised from motives of literary pride. . . . When the theatre came to its maturity, complete 5-act plays with 2 plots . . . were required to fill the afternoon. The earlier and slighter plays were then enlarged and adapted to the new demands. It was not easy, even for Shakespeare, to supply his best works . . . at the rate of 2 plays a year. For certain years he almost did it . . . and the effort killed him. . . . No man . . . could live through the work that Shakespeare did from *Hamlet* to *Anthony and Cleopetra* without paying for it in health."

George Saintsbury and Sir E. K. Chambers also support the views of Sir Walter Raleigh.

From the beginning of his career Shakespeare, as we can gather to-day, was more anxious for money than for fame. He was quite glad to see that the Globe Theatre attracted a large audience during the performances of his plays. It did not matter much whether this or that one of his dramas was genuinely or fraudulently published by piratical publishers, only if the box-office return of the Globe Theatre were not affected. It appears that from 1600 onwards there had been no further anonymous publication and before 1598 there was no publication with name.

Considering the position of the playwrights in society, the author of *Venus and Adonis* and *Rape of Lucrece*, the publication of both of which was undertaken by Shakespeare himself, might have decided not to publish plays in his own name, but when in 1600 he realised that the atmosphere had changed and publication with name might not bring him positive disrepute in public estimation, he discontinued the practice of anonymous publication. But this explanation necessitates the presumption that Shakespeare had some responsibility for the publication of his plays. This notion, however, does not seem to be correct, for there is absolutely no evidence to prove that any of our poet's dramas was ever published from his autograph manuscript. Had Shakespeare taken any interest in the publication, he could certainly have forwarded his autograph manuscript to the publishers. In all probability he would then have adopted certain caution against spurious publications published in his name.[1]

All plays of Shakespeare have been handed down to us from the printed quartos and the 1st Folio ; there is no record that a single dramatic piece of Shakespeare has been published from the author's autograph manuscript.[1] "The canon of Shakespeare's plays," says Chambers in his *Life of William Shakespeare*, Vol. I, "rests mainly on the authority of title pages." "There is confirmation for some of the plays in contemporary references, for instance by Francis Meres in his *Palladis Tamia* (1598) ; John Weever in 1599 speaks of *Romeo and Juliet* and either *Richard II* or *Richard III* as Shakespeare's ; Gabriel Harvey in or before 1601 of *Hamlet* ; Ben Jonson in 1619 and later of *Julius Caesar* and *Winter's Tale*. The Revel's accounts of 1604-05 assign to him *Measure for Measure*, *Comedy of Errors*, and *Merchant of Venice*, but leaves *The Moore of Venice*, *Merry Wives of Windsor*, *Henry V* and *Love's Labour's Lost* anonymous."[2]

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[1] Of the sixteen plays of his that were published in his life-time, not one was printed with his sanction. He made no audible protest when 7 contemptible dramas in which he had no hand were published with his name or initials on the title page while his fame was at its height.—S. Lee, *Life of William Shakespeare*, p. 396.

A more probable explanation which the present writer can suggest is that during those years nobody was particular about the authorship—either the poet himself or the readers at large. Shakespeare was no exception to this rule, and up to the year 1598 all plays were anonymous. But from 1598 the publishers began to realise the necessity of publishing the names of the authors, particularly of Shakespearean productions, and they began partly to follow the old course and partly to adopt the new one. By 1600 Shakespeare was sufficiently popular among the theatre-going public as also the general readers and hence it was expected that Shakespeare's productions would command a wider sale. Thus from 1600 onwards we find no anonymous play of Shakespeare.

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[1] Of the manuscripts of his works not a single line is extant. . . . . . we do not know exactly how far several of the works attributed to Shakespeare are really his.—Brandes, *Life of William Shakespeare*, Vol. 1.

[2] The Accounts of the Revels at Court in the reigns of Elizabeth and James, containing entries showing performances at Court of "The Moor of Venis," "The Merry Wives of Winsor," "Mesure for Mesure" by "Shaxberd," "the Plaie of Errors" by Shaxberd," "Love's Labours Lost," "Henery the fifth" and "the Martchant of Venis" by "Shaxberd" (twice, being "againe commanded by the Kings Matie"), all in 1604 (O.S.), of "the Tempest," and "ye winters nightes Tayle" in 1611, all by the King's men, and of the performance before the Court at Wilton, Dec. 2, 1603 (I. 96, 133, Notes in the *History of the Revels Office under the Tudors*, ed. by E. K. Chambers, and *Supposed Shakespeare Forgeries*, by Ernest Law).

A REVIEW OF COTTAGE INDUSTRIES IN CONGRESS PROVINCES

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THERE is no denying the fact that to-day India is very backward in industries and has to depend on other countries for many manufactured goods consumed by her people. But history shows that, judged by the standards of past days, she not only met all her own requirements in the way of manufactured articles but also exported large amounts to foreign countries. In very early days, Pliny objected to the vast sums paid to India for the purchase of manufactured goods saying " In no years does India drain our empire of less than fifty-five million sesterces (approximately 6½ million rupees) giving back her own wares in exchange which are sold at one hundred times their prime cost." Sir Henry Cotton stated that in 1787 the exports of Dacca muslins to England amounted to £300,000 (approximately 4½ million rupees) and that by 1817 they had ceased altogether. When Clive entered Murshidabad in the days of Serajadula he described it as being " as populous and rich as the city of London." It was the silk industry which lay at the root of its prosperity. To-day, the fate of Dacca has overtaken Murshidabad. These two instances, taken from Bengal, are typical of what has happened in different parts of India and it is therefore that a well-known authority has stated it as his considered opinion that "European traders were first attracted to India not for her raw products but by her manufactured wares."

It has to be remembered in this connection that the articles exported by India in those days were artistic in finish and made their appeal to the wealthy and cultured classes of both the East and the West. They consisted of fine cotton and silk fabrics, silver-ware, lacquer work and similar other artistic handicraft. These were all the products of cottage industries and were manufactured with the primary object of selling them to the nobility and the gentry of India and of exporting them abroad. It cannot be denied that the people engaged in their production and distribution were prosperous so long as there was an active demand for them. To-day, the demand for similar things is equally keen but our artisans and handicraftsmen have lost touch with the consumers and when the products of their labour find a limited market, all the profits are absorbed by middlemen and they have to be content with a mere pittance. As a matter of fact, almost all these industries have died out.) The very few which yet survive are in a moribund state. It is also equally well-known that through lack of opportunities to exercise their art, the present race of craftsmen are losing the skill for which their ancestors were famous.

(These age-old handicrafts may be revived and the people who for generations had followed them and who to-day have been compelled under economic stress to become agriculturists, can go back to their ancestral occupations for which they are eminently fitted by their heredity.) Mr. Madhusudan Das, who spent a fortune in an attempt to revive the arts and crafts of Orissa, speaking at the East Indian Association, London, mentioned to one advantage of the caste system in which a particular industry has been followed for uncounted generations which produces remarkable physical adaptability among the workers. In this connection he referred to the children of the silversmiths of Orissa who have done filigree work for centuries. These, with a single dexterous twist of the thumb of the left hand, can bend a small piece of silver wire in many different and intricate patterns—an operation of which the ordinary man would, according to him, be incapable even after months of strenuous and continuous practice.

It is well-known that in the different provinces, the Congress Governments were putting forth their best efforts to revive these old cottage industries of the artistic type and were maintaining agencies for giving training in them as also finding a market for these products. From my personal experience, I may mention that very solid work has been done in this particular direction by Bihar and Orissa.)

(Experience has shown that new methods have to be followed in order to improve the quality as well as the output. It is therefore that experts are busy making improvements in the primitive tools used by these artisans. The aim of this is to increase the output and thus reduce the cost of production. In certain places, attempts are being made to harness power for running the improved machinery designed by experts.) In other instances, new designs likely to appeal to present-day taste are being evolved. (It is hoped that these technical improvements will stimulate an increased demand for these manufactured goods both in and outside India.) The former will mean the replacement of foreign manufacture and the latter—the export of home-grown raw materials in the form of finished goods which every one must be aware is more profitable.

Once it is admitted that industrialisation is a necessity, the question which naturally suggests itself is in what order should they be taken up in any organised effort towards the industrial regeneration of our motherland. Obviously attention should, in the first instance, be directed towards the encouragement of those industries, the raw materials for which are found plentifully in India and finished products from which are consumed by the people of this land. In other words, our efforts should be first directed towards meeting our domestic needs. Along with this, we should also aim at manufacturing those things upon the purity of which depends the preservation of health. This naturally implies the production of home-woven cloth out of hand-spun thread, the production of hand-pounded rice and whole-meal flour, of oil pressed with the help of cheap machinery to prevent all chances of adulteration, brass, bell-metal and leather work and similar other cottage industries.

This has engaged the earnest attention of National India which has spoken through its leader Mahatma Gandhi. His observations on this point are worth quoting. He said, "The bulk of the population is agricultural, and Indian agriculture involves very hard work for certain short periods and almost complete inactivity for the rest of the year. These periods of inactivity are, in the great majority of cases, spent in idleness. But where the cultivator pursues some craft which will employ him and his family at times when they are not required in the fields—a craft in which continuity of employment is not essential—the proceeds of that craft are a saving from waste and therefore a clear gain."

The one thing common to all industries of this type is that the plant necessary for carrying on the work is not expensive and, with ordinary care, will last for years. Working at home and with the assistance of the members of his own family, the craftsman works for longer hours and under more satisfactory conditions than the industrial labourer. Lastly, he can always rely on the assistance of the female members of his family who otherwise would be without any remunerative work during the time that they assist the bread-winner.

It is needless at this late hour to remind any Indian that ever since Mahatma Gandhi came to have a predominant voice in shaping the policy of the Congress, he has insisted that it should direct a large part of its energy towards uplifting the masses.) Under his guidance, the Congress has grown into an All-India representative body representing sections and interests and naturally including among its members very large numbers of industrial and agricultural labour. Under the inspiration of Mahatma Gandhi, our national leaders have come to realise that, in order to strengthen the Congress as well as to attract the masses in still larger numbers to its ranks, it is essential that systematic attempts should be made to improve their lot.) The limits I have set myself in this article preclude any discussion of what the Congress is trying to do in order to assist the masses living in urban areas, and therefore, no reference to these measures can be made here.

The adoption of beneficent measures for the rural masses is probably the most satisfactory method of ending communalism. It is, I contend, the only way to prove to the world at large that our All-India national organisation is non-communal, for it is always prepared to assist every son of India irrespective of the religion he professes. The systematic adoption of such a policy throughout the length and breadth of India for an uninterrupted succession of years must, in the end, convince our now ignorant brethren that the Congress where Hindus are in a majority on account of their numerical predominance in our motherland, makes no invidious distinction between members of different religious or social groups. The good effects of this policy cannot be expected to manifest themselves immediately for prejudice, particularly of the communal type, dies hard specially when there are selfish mischief-mongers whose only task seems to consist in fanning communalism everywhere and under all circumstances.

In my view, the desire of Mahatma Gandhi to help the rural areas has manifested itself through the Congress Governments in the programme of rural uplift in which the development of cottage industries plays no insignificant part.) It is only want of space which prevents me from giving some account of the different types of work done in the headquarters of the All-India Village Industries Association almost under the eyes of Mahatma Gandhi. I shall, however, content myself with saying that the lessons taught here are being learnt, perhaps slowly but none the less surely. And what is more, the different Congress ministries so long as they were in power, were trying their best to encourage systematically the methods which have stood the test of experience. In an article which has already appeared in

"The Calcutta Review," I made an attempt to indicate what some of these steps are. I shall here content myself with giving a bird's eye view from an All-India standpoint.

The cottage industries which are receiving the greatest encouragement are those concerned with the provision of healthy and adequate food, adequate clothing, healthy homes, medical aid, sanitation and education. So far as the present article is concerned, we have to confine ourselves to the first two of these items. It was pointed out some time ago that while the average Briton consumes 2,400 lbs. of food and drink in the year, the average Indian consumes between 400 to 500 lbs. about a fifth of this quantity. We know that to-day India does not produce sufficient food to meet all her requirements and it is therefore that in all the Congress provinces agriculture, specially of the intensive type, was being encouraged.

The problem of starvation was also being approached from another angle. Only too often the food that is available to the masses loses much of its value on account of the loss of its vitamin and mineral contents. In other cases, it is adulterated by fraudulent manufacturers or middlemen in order to increase their profits. It is therefore that, under the inspiration of the All-India Village Industries Association, the co-operation of which was sought by every Congress province, improved rice-husking implements and bullock-driven flour mills were being introduced extensively in rural areas. Very cheap and efficient types within the means of villagers have been evolved and unpolished rice and whole-meal flour are gaining in popularity. Similarly, a particular type of village *ghani* worked by bullocks has been contrived which combines maximum output with minimum exertion. I was informed that, with the use of this improved type, it is now possible for pure *ghani* oil to compete with unadulterated machine-pressed oil. Devices for making *gur* out of date-palm, palmyra and cocoanut juice are in use in all parts of our country and the villagers are now producing pure *gur* (jaggery) for their own consumption and also for sale.

Arrangements encouraging the use of improved methods of catching fish and of curing them were made by the Madras and Bombay Congress cabinets in appropriate fishing centres on their sea-coast. Bihar also took steps to improve pisciculture in its tanks and rivers. These are providing and will continue to provide increasing amounts of healthy food and will also help the fishermen who are among the Harijans to increase their earnings.

Mahatma Gandhi and his lieutenants always anxious to help those who have none to think of them, have all along taken great interest in the Harijans. They realised the immense possibilities of trade in skin, hide, horn, bone and manure. I was informed by the expert in charge of this particular type of work at the Wardha centre that in India 30 million cattle only die every year of some kind of disease. In addition, we have to think of the million or more of goats, sheep, buffaloes, etc., slaughtered for food. Then we should think of other animals such as dogs, donkeys, etc. The skins of all these animals can be tanned in village tanneries and the carcases can be made use of in different ways. In all the Congress provinces, there are organisations for teaching *Chamars* and other Harijans improved methods of flaying, making glue from the fleshings, fat from the entrails, gut from the intestines, manure from the blood and flesh, bone-meal and bone-dust. Easily followed processes for tanning, the making of footwear and other leather goods are also taught. As is natural, the greatest progress in this direction has been made in the Central Provinces where Wardha is situated. I was gratified to see here Brahmin, Bania and Chamar youngmen and boys working at all the processes mentioned above.

With the introduction of measures calculated to bring young people in increasing numbers into schools under the Vidyamandir, the Basic Education and the Wardha schemes and also with the phenomenal success of the drive against adult illiteracy which figures so largely in the Congress educational programme, there will be an ever-expanding demand not only for books, slate and slate pencils but also for paper. With increase in the percentage of literacy, more people will take to keeping their accounts, writing letters, etc. It is desirable that the poor villager should be able to supply all his requirements in this direction through rural agencies. To purchase foreign or even machine-made paper is to encourage unemployment and loss of purchasing power by the rural masses which they can ill afford. It is therefore that a special process for making paper by hand has been evolved. Its merit lies in the fact that it can always utilise the waste material available in villages. Instruction in this method was being given to young men in every Congress province.

There are two other items which require mention. These are bee-keeping which, so far as I could gather, has not as yet made any appreciable headway and the manufacture of soap from easily available vegetable fats such as Mahua oil. This is slowly growing in popularity specially in Bihar, Orissa and the Central Provinces.

Apart from the very valuable work done by Mahatma Gandhi in other directions with which we are not concerned here, probably his greatest contribution towards the solution of the problem of poverty and unemployment specially in the rural areas has consisted in the impetus he has given to the production and distribution of hand-spun and hand-woven fabrics. As stated elsewhere, spinning and weaving practised as cottage industries have, next to agriculture, supported the largest number among our people and with the use of machine-made cloth a majority of these have been thrown out of employment.

With that keen insight into fundamentals which characterises our great national leader, Mahatma Gandhi initiated almost single-handed the campaign for *khadi.* Very soon, he attracted a number of enthusiastic followers. Then came the foundation of the organisation now known as the All-India Spinners' Association. One of the most striking things about this Association is that it has its headquarters at Ahmedabad, one of the largest centres of the cotton mill industry. This, to my mind, clearly indicates that hand-spun and hand-woven cotton fabrics have a sphere all their own and also that so long as they are confined within this sphere, there cannot be any competition with machine-made cotton stuff.

In the opinion of National India, one of the methods of relaxing the terrible grip of poverty from which the rural areas are suffering is to provide the masses with profitable subsidiary occupations. But these must be of such a character that they can be practised by the largest number of people, can be taken up and laid aside at any moment and further that their pursuit must not require expensive implements. Hand-spinning meets all these requirements and fulfils a genuine need.

According to the League of Nations the *per capita* allowance of clothing per annum should be round about 30 square yards. Taking into account the climatic conditions of the greater part of India and the grinding poverty of the masses, this can probably be reduced to 20 square yards without any very great hardship. As a matter of fact, however, the annual consumption of cloth per capita in India is somewhere about 11 square yards. The people are too poor to be able to buy sufficient cloth for their normal requirements. This explains the half-clothed if not the practically naked condition of some of our masses.

It is the aim of the All-India Spinners' Association to make every home in India, specially in the rural areas, self-sufficient in respect of cloth by *khadi* production. Under these circumstances, it is obvious that the people engaged in this work should themselves wear *khadi.* With this end in view, in many provinces part of the wages of these people is being paid in the form of *khadi.* My information is that, as a matter of fact, the greater part of the *khadi* produced in each province is consumed within the province itself. This shows that we are tending to become self-sufficient in the matter of clothing. As the earnings of those engaged in this type of industry are the lowest, very strenuous efforts have resulted in fixing the minimum rate of three annas for a day of eight hours of efficient work.

It is much to be regretted that, taking advantage of the growing demand for *khaddar,* unscrupulous men are having it manufactured by sweated labour receiving unbelievably low wages. Vigorous steps have been taken to put a stop to this type of exploitation and legislation to that end was passed in practically every Congress province.

Khadi has been growing in popularity and to-day its use is common not only among the poorer people in the rural areas but also among the well-off. Its production and sale were greatly encouraged after the Congress came into power. My personal knowledge extending over Bengal and Assam justifies me in stating that there was a time when the use of *khaddar* was regarded as an outward sign of " disloyalty " and there were many who used *khaddar* in their homes but never outside. But it is not so now. Large purchases were made by the Congress Governments, local bodies like District and Local Boards, Municipalities, etc. Many Indian States are also patronising *khadi.*

I propose to give here certain figures from the latest available report of the All-India Spinners' Association in order to give my readers some idea of the immense progress made by the *Khaddar* movement. All these figures are for the year 1938 and have, in certain instances, been rounded off for the sake of convenience. Total production 125 lakhs 60 thousand square yards ; value of amount produced Rs. 55 lakhs. Total number of registered spinners 2 lakhs 82 thousand who received Rs. 21 lakhs 55 thousand as wages, total number of registered weavers about 19 thousand who received about Rs. 12 lakhs as wages, total number of registered artisans 6 thousand 8 hundred who received Rs. 5 lakhs 65 thousand as wages. Total number of registered *Khaddar* workers about 3 lakhs 1 thousand who drew as wages the by no means inconsiderable amount of rupees 39 lakhs 20 thousand. These figures do not include those spinners, weavers and artisans whose work is not controlled by the All-India Spinners' Association. There are no official figures as regards their number or the wages drawn by them. It has, however, been stated that not less than another 3 lakhs are engaged in the production of *khadi* though probably they draw wages at rates lower than the minimum rate fixed by the All-India Spinners' Association.

The above figures conclusively demonstrate the wisdom shown by the different Congress cabinets in encouraging the production and sale of *khaddar*. National India holds that the grants these Congress Governments have made for this purpose need no justification. They prove beyond the slightest shadow of any doubt that the leaders of the Congress are really interested in the welfare of the masses and are taking steps in order to ameliorate their lot and this they are doing irrespective of the faith professed by those benefited by these measures.

There is still another direction in which the concern of the Congress ministers for the masses manifested itself. This has been the creation of new opportunities for the training of suitable men in industries. The scope of this article will not permit any reference whatsoever to the arrangements for technical and vocational education in their higher branches. It is, however, a well-known fact that institutions for imparting theoretical instruction and practical training in handicrafts and cottage industries were started in all the provinces administered by the Congress. Some of these were financed by the respective provincial Governments while others were in receipt of grants from the provincial revenues. Where equally good institutions are to be found in every province, institutions which I have visited and admired, it would be invidious to pick out one or two for purposes of description. Stipends were also given to deserving people so that, if necessary, they can go out of their native province in order to undergo some special kind of training for which facilities do not exist in their own province. A most gratifying feature of their activities has been that in addition to the facilities available to all, seats have been reserved for members of the Muslim community, for Harijans and for the aboriginals. This rules out any question of victimising the minority for the benefit of the majority.

The last matter to which atttention has to be drawn is the establishment of museums where specimens of our arts and crafts are kept. These are useful not only for purposes of propaganda and sale, but also to encourage the people to still further efforts. The policy of having emporiums under Government supervision where the products of cottage industries are offered for sale is another wise move. These have been started at the capital of every Congress province and it is rumoured that gradually such museums and emporiums will be located in every district headquarters.

It has been urged repeatedly that if India is to develop industrially, she must imitate the West by establishing large factories and replacing manual labour by machinery. It may be pointed out that conditions in India where cottage industries have been flourishing for thousands of years are different. Neither with present-day higher ethical standards are we prepared to view with unconcern the appearance of congested cities, of unhealthy conditions of work often in a depressing climate and the deplorable struggles between capital and labour in our fair motherland. To our regret, we always see these blots on civilisation in those parts of India where large-scale production under the factory system has made its appearance. We believe that efforts to remove them should go hand in hand with decentralising industry as far as possible so that the problem may not grow more and more difficult of solution with every day that passes and with every step taken for the extension of industrialisation in India. We are aware that large-scale power production must come but we contend that it should be confined to its lowest possible limits and that, from the very beginning, every attempt must be made to eliminate those defects which characterise large-scale production on the factory system in the West. We further hold that it is feasible for the two types of industry to flourish side by side and to meet distinct needs. For instance in Japan workers in cottage industries produce not only art products but also indispensable articles for daily consumption and yet these cottage industries are flourishing side by side with mills and factories engaged in large-scale production. Similarly, according to Beatrice and Sidney Webb, though Russia has industrialised herself largely, she meets 50 per cent. of her internal requirements with the products of cottage industries carried on under the co-operative system.

We have also to remember that there are certain things in our favour on which we do not lay proper emphasis. The first and, to my mind, the most important of these is the remarkable vitality of these cottage industries. Dynasties contending for political supremacy have come and gone but these industries vitally connected with our social and economic system, have successfully withstood the ravages of time. The indigenous artisan is better acquainted with and is always willing to suit the individual tastes and requirements of his customer. For instance, the *sari*, however coarse, may be woven with a particular type of border. The goldsmith or the silversmith always makes jewellery of the pattern favoured by the individual customer while even the household metal vessels are made according to particular designs. It is needless to emphasise that the standard machine-made article can never fulfil this requirement. One may even go further and suggest that, provided the price of handicraft products is not actually prohibitive, this tendency towards having articles made to individual requirements will grow stronger and stronger specially if education spreads largely among the women.

Then again, signs have already appeared in the West which clearly indicate that when electricity has assumed its proper place as a satisfactory source of power and when power derived from air and water are harnessed to industries, many of these will tend to go back to the countryside. Industry will be decentralised by the manufacture of parts in different centres each devoting itself to a specific task with consequent increase of efficiency due to division of labour. With the migration of labour to rural areas, the pestiferous rookeries where industrial labour is lodged to-day will disappear and there will be an all-round improvement in its condition. Why should we not anticipate this state of things and, as we are re-building our industrial system from the foundation upward, why should we not encourage suitable cottage industries improving their quality and outturn in such a manner as to enable them to stand competition with machine-made goods ?

The vitality of the cottage industries of India which have stood rude shocks for ages is wonderful and they will reappear in their former splendour and vigour as soon as the people are made to realise the wonderful possibilities of various improvements in the different technical operations involved in the process of manufacture.)

CREATIVE DISEQUILIBRIUM IN FREEDOM, DEMOCRACY AND SOCIALISM *

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THE DIALECTIC OF PROGRESS

IN case it be possible to concede to history any lesson for mankind it is perhaps nothing more edifying than that man's welfare is always to be in crisis. There is to be no peace while there is progress and there can be no progress while there is peace. Peace in progress is as great a contradiction in terms as progress in peace. The logic of human history must have to postulate a crisis after crisis, a disharmony after disharmony, the continuous series of *dvandvas* (conflicts) and disequilibria, and the eternal stream of challenges to the *status quo* at every so-called synthesis. It is but the privilege of man that his freedom is perpetually in crisis, his democracy is never without a crisis, and that his socialism cannot afford to be without a crisis at every turn. These crises, conflicts, *dvandvas* and disequilibria are by all means creative or evolutive almost as a matter of course.

There is no finality in creative disequilibrium. The dialectic of revolution knows no ultimate synthesis. From this attitude to history and conflicts both Marx as well as his *guru* Hegel are to be treated as incomplete, partial and, therefore, fallacious in their philosophical interpretations of the world-process or the evolution of the human *Geist* (spirit). Their analysis of the societal trends does not reach far enough and is marked by a palpable shortcoming. Hegel's position is entirely fallacious when in his *Philosophy of Religions* (1832) his dialectic stops at Christianity as the terminus of man's religious experiences or discoveries. His logic of evolution has failed to envisage any creative disequilibrium after the birth or development of the Christ-cult. Equally imperfect as a guide of cultural evolution is the Marxist thesis in the *Communist Manifesto* (1848), nay, in Lenin's *State and Revolution* (1917). The Marx-Lenin hypothesis comes down to the alleged "withering away of the state" and the "proletarian revolution." There are no indications in the Marx-Lenin gospel as to the eventual developments of creative disequilibrium in the realm of the human spirit and the societal achievements after the annihilation or automatic dissolution of the state. The proletarian revolution is taken to be the last word in man's progressive march.

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* A paper for the Second Indian Political Science Conference, Lahore, January, 1940.

The Marx-Leninian analysis is as unacceptable as the Hegelian. The spirit of man cannot by any means be taken ever to attain its final or absolute stage. The logic of the spirit must have to admit the infinite and unlimited possibilities of new revolutions undoing the shortcomings of the older revolutions. The last term in the series of spiritual progression is not an item of human destiny. It is never likely to come.

Lenin's dialectic failed to visualize the crisis after the synthesis embodied in the proletarian revolution. But what he failed as a speculator to foresee or indicate he experienced in his practical life as the architect and statesman of that revolution. The crisis of the proletarian revolution, bolshevism, sovietism, communism or proletarian dictatorship was experienced by him from 1918 to 1921. And so came the creative disequilibrium once more into evidence. And that is embodied in the New Economic Policy of 1922. This is a revolution after the revolution of 1917. It embodies a challenge to the communist synthesis of *The State and Revolution.*

Whatever has been happening in Soviet Russia since 1922 has been in the main but a challenge to or corrective of that last word, finality or absolute. And this is in keeping with the correct dialectic of progress.

LENINISM II AS A CHALLENGE TO THE SYNTHESIS OF LENINISM I

There are two Lenins. The first Lenin, the Lenin of 1917-21, is the theorist, the philosopher, the idealist. As theorist and philosopher he was the uncompromising prophet of ruthless and radical or extremist communism, involving as it does class-struggle on an international scale. But the second Lenin, the Lenin of 1922, is the statesman, the *Realpolitiker*, the seasoned worker in the field of patriotism and social service for his Russian people. As such he commenced virtually on a clean state, with hardly any memories of his past, so to-say, more with an eye to the realities of the Russian sociography than to the ideals of a Utopian communistic state of all nations and classes.

In the world at large the most impressive figure is that of Lenin No. I, *i.e.*, of Lenin the prophet and the metaphysician of the communistic Utopia. That Lenin has grown into a myth, the *avatar* of what anybody and everybody chooses to describe as the highest perfection in social justice or the worst embodiment of human misery.

Bolshevism or communism as prevalent in Russia since 1922 is to be sharply distinguished from that glorious or inglorious myth. Lenin No. I, had been dead and gone two years before Lenin the man of flesh and blood died. Under Bolshevism or communism of the N. E. P., *i.e.*. Leninism No. II, the technique and methodology of administration in the Bolshevik state in regard to economic interests did not look radically different from those in the non-Bolshevik states which likewise had long been used to municipal socialism and *étatisme* of one denomination or other. One fact is undisputed. Russia was already on the way to modernism in technocracy and industrial organization and a more or less constitutional-democratic government. Communism of the Marxian theory, *i.e.*, of Leninism No. I, was conspicuous by its absence except perhaps in the ideologies of radicals like Trotzky who were discontented with the Stalin regime as too moderate and bourgeois.

The expulsion of Trotzky from Russia (February, 1928) implies the addition of another nail to the coffin of Leninism No. I. The entire decade from the commencement of the first five-year plan has been a period of smooth sailing for Leninism No. II, which it has been the lot of Stalin to inherit and manage. Stalin's purges of 1936 and 1937, consummated in a ruthless manner, as they were, indicate once in a while that Leninism No. I is trying still to get. re-born and raise its head against Leninism No. II. But it should appear that Leninism II has met the social and cultural conditions of the Russian people somewhat adequately and that the mood for re-embarking on an experiment with Leninism No. I is not widespread or powerful in Russia as Dimitrov's *United Front*: *The Struggle against Fascism and War* (1933) is likely to confirm.

The five-year plans (1928-32, 1933-37, 1938-42) are essentially economic measures corresponding to the economic development or *Swadeshi* (national industry) movement schemes in non-Bolshevistic, *i.e.*, the so-called bourgeois and capitalistic countries. In other words, technocracy and industrialization of the West-European or American standard have been sought to be introduced in the shortest possible time. For all practical purposes the Russian people is trying to accomplish under the Soviets of the twentieth century some of those industrial-capitalistic transformations which ought to have been undertaken by the Czars in the nineteenth. The economic and social backwardness of Russia in *Swadeshi* is being made up to a certain extent and the Russian people is trying to catch up to the modernisms of western Eur-America.

In the meantime it is possible to touch upon certain ideological landmarks in Bolshevist thought. Stalin as the formal and spiritual heir of Lenin has been giving shape to and developing the ideals implied in Leninism No. II. In June 1931, for instance, the rewarding of skill, initiative and ability was declared by him to be an article of economic creed. The principle of equality of wages was abandoned and replaced by that of payment of wages according to results. This carried along with it the system of piece-work payments as well as unequal payments for unequal work. It is self-evident that in Stalinism as thus formulated and practised is to be found the gospel of traditional classical and conventional bourgeois economics.

Stalin's rejection of the cult of equality and establishment of that of inequality is a powerful element in the dissolution of the pure communism of propagandists. It has served to render communistic philosophy assimilable to a considerable extent to the non-communistic or capitalistic and property ideologies.

For, it is to be remarked that contemporary capitalism is through and through socialistic, *i.e.*, moderated, dominated and multiplied by the demands of the working classes. Socialised capitalism as prevalent in the economic *Realpolitik* of today can somewhat easily offer *camaraderie* to the capitalistic communism of Leninistic socialism No. II, as propounded by Stalin in 1931. More or less each is to be described as representing aspects of what may be indifferently called neo-capitalism or neo-socialism.

During the period of the *Gosplan II* (1933-37) communism marched steadily along the lines of neo-capitalism or neo-socialism as thus defined. Differences in the standard of living as due to state-service—the paraphernalia of Lenin's state-capitalism—were not only tolerated but actually promoted. Unequal earnings constituted the norm of the labour market. Stores, restaurants and apartment houses were virtually classified or graded according to the social, *i.e.*, income status of the officials.

It is in this *milieu* that we have to place Dimitrov's theory of uniting the communists and non-communist socialists and other nondescripts. The policy of the Soviet *rapprochement* with bourgeois France (1935) and later with Nazi Germany (1939) has likewise to be seen in the same perspective.

In February 1938 met, along with the introduction of the third five-year plan, the first Parliament of Bolshevik Russia at Moscow. It is interesting that the constitution has provided for a bicameral legislature. Among the general principles of the Bolshevism as now rendered into the positive law of the constitution it may be noted that the suffrage is universal enough to compromise the formerly disfranchanized "class enemies." In other words, there can be no equation between the Bolshevism of 1938-39 and the previous Bolshevisms since 1918. We have today a Bolshevism that has abolished class-struggle and constitutionally believes in national unity and class-solidarity. Another item of considerable importance is embodied in the principle that no distinction is to be made between the peasant and the industrial worker in regard to the exercise of suffrage. The Bolshevism of yesterday and day before yesterday considered this distinction to be the life-blood of communism. Last but not least, non-communists can be admitted to both the Houses. The logic of the present Bolshevist constitution, therefore, is thoroughly nationalistic.

THE PSYCHO-SOCIAL BASIS OF ETERNAL DISEQUILIBRIUM

Evidently the present situation in Bolshevik theory and practice does not represent a condition of stable equilibrium in the march of freedom, democracy and socialism or communism. It should not be reasonable also to jump at establishing a perfect equation between the neo-socialism of Stalinist Russia today and the neo-socialism of the socialistically most advanced among the other countries. There are neo-socialisms and neo-socialism. But it is possible to see without difficulty that Leninism II has already furnished an effective rejoinder to the alleged finality of the synthesis as embodied in Leninism I.

The fallacy of finalistic interpretations—as those of Hegel, Marx, Lenin and others are—is derived from their inveterate monism and thorough-going absolutist or totalitarian character. They fail to recognize the eternal *dvandvas*, dualities or conflicts existing in the human *psyche* and inter-human or societal relations. As the complexities and multiplicities of the moral and spiritual *Gestalt* (form-structure) of mankind escape their adequate attention they naturally overlook the inevitableness of disequilibrium of some sort or other prevailing at every stage or phase of life's processes. But the unending nature of disequilibrium follows as a matter of course from the very psycho-social morphology of man.

The dualities, *dvandvas* or conflicts, are observable in every domain of thought and activity. For instance, dichotomies like the medieval nominalism and realism, Heine's Platonic and Aristotelian natures, Schiller's naïve and sentimental poetry, Nietzsche's Apollonian dream and Dionysian frenzy, Jordan's active (less impassioned) and reflective (more impassioned), Spitteller's Promethian fore-thinker and Epimethian after-thinker and man of action, Worringer's empathy (feeling-into) and abstraction, and Ostwald's classic and romantic have been described and analyzed by Jung in *Psychological Types* in order to examine to what extent his own pair of opposites, namely, the extravert and introvert, can be applicable in those historic instances. We may add here the duality injected into cultural and social achievements by Sorokin, namely, sensatism and ideationalism (although he has also a third item, idealism, which is taken to be a balance between the two).

There are serious doubts as to whether a genuine balance, synthesis or harmonizing of the *dvandvas* is a fact in the individual or societal complex. But in almost every instance a juxtaposition of the polarities or a modification of the one by the other is to be regarded as the feature of universal human experience. Mixtures and amalgams of romanticism with the classical disposition, of sensatism with ideationalism, the Apollonian with the Dionysian, the extraverted with the introverted are what we generally come across in the character-*Gestalt* of individuals or groups.

Among the exponents of the leading philosophical "isms," therefore, we find, as Hocking concludes his *Types of Philosophy*, that not many are "perfectly typical." Spencer, for instance, is not a "pure naturalist," for he believes that there is a reality "though unknowable, beyond or behind nature." Dualism can be ascribed to Plato, and yet he is an idealist because "he describes matter as a certain sort of non-existence." As regards Aristotle, he is a realist by all means and yet his metaphysics is idealistic. And again, "divergent lines of thought go out from Socrates, all claiming their rootage in that great character; and the same may be said for Descartes, Kant, Hegel." In William James, finally, it is hardly possible to find any system. Idealism, realism, pragmatism and mysticism, "all coexisted without achieving a final consistency." None of these thinkers can be contained in an "ism." They defy classification.

Toennies's dichotomy, *Gemeinschaft* (community) and *Gesellschaft* (society), points likewise to an abstraction. He himself treats this polarity or *dvandva* as artificial or even arbitrary. All the forces of "society" remain in close connection with their "community" basis, with the historical forms of living and acting together. He speaks of the epoch of society (marked by the social will of convention, politics and public opinion) as following the epoch of community (marked by the social will of feeling, custom and religion). But there is a tendency for the community during the epoch of community to tend towards the society. On the other hand, during the epoch of society also the community continues to exist although somewhat in decline so that the "reality of social life" may be maintained. Here, as in other instances, the empiric or factual reality is an amalgam. And wherever there is an amalgam there is the possibility of a conflict or a disequilibrium.

In regard to man's orientations to law and the legal institutions it is questionable whether in every instance one can vouch that man is exclusively ethico-metaphysical (Kantian) or politico-positive (Austinian). To believe that man obeys law simply because of the fear of punishment is as unreasonable as to admit that law would be followed for no other reason except the instinctive reaction to the majesty of law, the call of conscience, the categorical imperative. We shall be more within the region of probability if we accept that the human *psyche* in general is the theatre of both these drives, the internal as well as the external.

About the duality, pluralism or complexity of every personality, we may be convinced from the economic activities also. *Homo Oeconomicus* is neither exclusively capitalistic nor exclusively, socialistic. It is interesting that, historically speaking, the first Factory Act in England belongs to the almost first days of the factory establishments. The intervention of the state or *étatisme* as well as individual liberty in business enterprise has been almost coeval. The economic *Gestalt* knows at every stage what may be called *laissezfaire*-etatism or *etatistic* laissezfairism but never a pure *laissez-*

faire or pure *étatisme*. This is but another way of saying that economic reality is a series of capitalistic socialisms or socialistic capitalisms from beginning to end. At no point is it possible to detect a hundred-per-cent capitalism untouched or unmodified by socialism or a hundred-per-cent socialism supremely indifferent to the impacts of capitalism. Corresponding to the eternal demo-despotocracy of polilical psychology there is the eternal social-capitalism of economic relations. Neo-socialism and neo-capitalism are also parallel economic categories to match the political neo-democracy and neo-despotism. "Neo" in economic matters has to be understood in the same sense as in political, *i.e.*, with reference to the impacts of time on old values.

In politics, as in legal, economic, moral and other social interests the element of time and its values is a permanent modifying factor. "Neo" phenomena are, therefore, the eternal realities of man's spiritual growth and development whether as individual or in group. The basic process or content of these "Neo" phenomena or modifications, etc., is *dvandva*, conflict, disequilibrium. Finality or absolute or the last term is the farthest removed from the factual "neo" or time-values in human personality.

DISEQUILIBRIA IN THE INDIAN FREEDOM MOVEMENT

Categories with "neo" are the results of time in its impact upon moral and spiritual values. They point inevitably to the fact that creative or evolutive disequilibrium is not an isolated or statical penomenon but that it moves in a series that knows no last term and that it is perpetually giving rise to impacts upon the old forms and relations. The Indian freedom movement furnishes illustrations of this eternal dialectic of progress no less than the socio-economic and political movements elsewhere.

The Government of India Act (1935) has transferred a good deal of power into the hands of the Indian people. Indian polity is already neo-despotic. From July 1937 to November 1939 the Indian National Congress ran the ministries of eight Indian provinces—the majority of the regions in India. Creative disequilibrium of the Indian people, its challenge to the *status quo* could not, however, stop at the consummation or synthesis as embodied in this neo-despotism. The crisis of the war in which the British Empire has been engaged since September 1939 has given a rude shock to that synthesis. But in the meantime many other problems have succeeded in raising their heads and declaring their existence. They are diverse and heterogeneous and can hardly be solved by any one simplicist formula.

Down to 1935 India's struggle for freedom implied, in the main, a conflict with the British Empire. As long as the national defence and foreign relations, etc., of India are in British hands that aspect of the conflict cannot cease. Indeed, the resignation of the Congress ministries (November 1939) is an embodiment of that conflict. Leaving that question—India's relations with the British Empire—aside for the time being we can see that the synthesis of 1935-37 cannot be accepted as the absolute in the estimation of the Indian folk.

In the first place, it is the pecuniarily higher placed individuals and relatively prosperous families, Hindu and Moslem, that are lording it over in the present situation.

Secondly, the power including the loaves and fishes is being enjoyed today as ever before by the socially higher placed individuals and families, *i.e.*, birth-oligarchy, both Hindu and Moslem.

And finally, none but the men and women who can read and write, *i.e.*, the literate individuals and classes, can acquire social position and political power in the system that is. And this means that some ninety per cent of the entire Indian population, Hindu no less than Moslem, continues to be outside the self-determined exercise of power.

The anti-democratic, anti-socialistic, in other words, the anti-freedom conditions of the Indian *milieu* are too palpable. They point to four different but equally strong and well-rooted targets of the growing Indian democracy, socialism and freedom movement. The despotism or oligarchy (1) of the British element involved in the connection with the British Empire, (2) of economic Nawabs and bourgeoisie, (3) of social Brahmanocracy, Hindu and Islamic, and, last but not least, (4) of the so-called educated classes is the tremendous *status quo* to which the creative disequilibrium of today has to attitudinize itself in the interest of the next synthesis.

It is patent to everybody that both Hindus and Moslems as political animals suffer at the hands of the richer classes. It is also quite well known that in the social system of the Hindus the so-called *Harijans*, the depressed classes and lower castes, have to suffer deep indignities and profound iniquities. But it is not equally obvious that such social indignities and iniquities constitute the lot of millions, in reality, the majority, among the Moslems also. Class or caste distinctions of a social order are generally held to be repugnant to Islam. But already the Momins of Moslem India have been organizing themselves against social and other inequalities just like the depressed classes of the Hindu society. Every province, nay, every district, has perhaps its own tale of social injustices of some sort or other experienced by lower class Moslems.

The position of the Momins among the Indian Mussalmans throws much light on factual inequality in social relation in spite of the formal equality preached by a religion. The Momins are said to constitute some fifty per cent of the total Moslem population in India. Occupationally they live as a rule by the hand-loom industry. They feel that they are treated with the utmost contempt and tyranny by the other classes among the Moslems. A fair, just and equitable treatment has been denied to the Momins by the "upper-caste" Moslems. The Momins have, therefore, established an All-India *Jamaitul Momineen* with provincial branches in order to press their just demands on the social oligarchy. Altogether, they may be described as constituting the "depressed classes" of the Moslems and their demands go as far as the distribution of seats and services in the Assemblies, Councils, Corporations, Municipal and other Boards between themselves and other Moslems on a 50-50 basis. Naturally, therefore, from the standpoint of democracy and socialism, *i.e.*, of freedom, the Mussalmans have the same war against despotocracy or oligarchy of birth and race to wage as the Hindus. The spiritual basis of Hindu-Moslem unity in India today and tomorrow is positive and fundamental.

Then there is a tremendous caste distinction and class inequality engendered among the Moslems on account of the chauvinism of those Moslem families which by genealogical affiliations, genuine or spurious, can trace their origins to the Moslem stocks outside India, *e.g.*, from Afghanistan and Central Asia to Arabia, Egypt, Abyssinia or other parts of Africa. These families are alleged to continue and represent the blue-blood of Islam. They constitute the social Brahmanocracy, the oligarchy of upper castes, among the Indian Moslems. There is a peculiar racialism among the Moslems of India and this is entirely anti-democratic and anti-socialistic. Such Moslems of India as are not lucky enough to claim blood-bonds with the extra-Indian Moslems feel in their daily lives, that they are treated as *pariahs* by the alien-descended Brahmans of Moslem society. It is to be understood that this feeling of depression, pariahdom and inferiority has to be painfully experienced by the majority of Indian Moslems. For, humanly speaking, the number of alien-descended Moslems cannot by any means go beyond a few thousands throughout the length and breadth of India. It is this peculiar Moslem despotism or oligarchy based on foreign blood-affiliations which constitute a social tyranny of no mean order. It is against this inequity that the millions of the Indian-born and Indian-descended Moslems have to carry on a life-and-death struggle in the interest of their manhood, creative personality and freedom. It is nothing short of a war of the Indian elements against the foreign factors for the enjoyment of power in the Moslem society.

Perhaps nowhere is the Moslem Brahmanocracy or upper-caste oligarchy more despotic than among the Bengali Moslems. It is too well known that the number of Bengali Moslem families that can claim blood-relationship with the extra-Indian Moslems from Afghanistan to Arabia or Africa can if at all be counted at fingers' ends. So there has arisen a snobbishness and hypocrisy among a certain section of the Bengali Moslems. This consists in trying to claim their descent from Moslem families outside of Bengal, say, from Bihari, Agra, Oudh or Punjabi Moslems. Anything non-Bengali is enough to satisfy the vanity and superiority-complex of these handfuls of Moslems *vis-à-vis* their several million Bengali-born and Bengali-descended co-religionists. This kind of non-Bengali and non-Indian birth-chauvinism or race-despotism is as a rule claimed and propagated by those Moslems, who in very recent years happen to have acquired a little bit of worldly esteem on account of a few doses of economic prosperity or of one or two relatively high-salaried posts in Government service. And very often the pretensions of such persons to non-Bengali or non-Indian descent rise in proportion as they get a lift in salaries. The millions of Bengali Moslems—peasants, artisans, sailors, boatmen, clerks, schoolmasters and so forth—are not in a position by the highest stretch of their imagination or fabrications of horoscopes to link up their blood-corpuscles with the Moslem Brahmans of extra-Bengal regions from Bihar to Baghdad. They feel, therefore, a kind of social torture which is identical with that to which the alleged lower castes among the Hindus are used.

Numerically, be it observed, the depressed Moslems (*i.e.*, those Moslems for whom it is impossible to claim or even dream of non-Indian or non-Bengali blood-contacts) do not represent a smaller proportion of the Indian Moslem society than the so-called lower caste

Hindus of the total Hindu society. Moslem Brahmanocracy has been of late trying to impose a non-Bengali language, the Urdu or Hindusthani, upon the Bengali-speaking, Bengali-born and Bengali-descended Moslems as their " mother-tongue " or official tongue. This is another item that is engendering an inequitable class-distinction among the Moslems of Bengal. The ability to speak Urdu and (or) write Urdu is being considered among the " upper caste " Moslems as a token of superiority. The despotism of foreign race or blood (non-Bengali or non-Indian as the case may be), on the one hand, and the despotism of a foreign language, on the other, are the two despotisms under which the overwhelming majority of the Moslems of India (and especially of Bengal) has to smart. This problem of social injustice and terror affects not only the Moslems of the Indian National Congress but also and especially the rank and file of the Muslim League. In the interest of Indian freedom comprising as it does democracy and socialism the depressed classes of the Moslems have, therefore, no less serious a struggle than those of the Hindus. One of the universal targets of Indian freedom movement at the present moment is bound to be the Brahmanocracy of birth and caste despotism, both Hindu and Moslem.

The fourth target of the united Hindu-Moslem freedom movement is the despotism of the so-called educated classes. In East and West everywhere and especially in modern times a vast amount of social superstition has grown round the persons who can read and write. These literates are known as the *intelligentszia* and described as the natural leaders of society. Consciously or unconsciously they exercise a tyranny upon those who cannot read or write, *i.e.*, the illiterates. In India today some nine-tenths of the entire population belong to the illiterates. The extent and depth of the social tyranny based on the ability to read and write is, therefore, enormous. The problem of the illiterates and their inferiority-complex is not identical with that of the poor. It is independent of wealth considerations and has to be treated as such in the struggle for freedom. It should likewise have to be examined separately from the question of inferiority-complex as associated with birth, blood or race considerations. In any case, the despotism of literacy (miscalled education) is no less dangerous and demoralizing than the despotism of wealth and the despotism of birth. In all countries of the world the illiterate is so automatically postulated to be a worthless and inferior person—nay, also dysgenic or cacogenic in human values—that the subject requires a close examination. The claims of the literates to superiority deserve an intensive analysis.

Profound disequilibrium of all sorts is prevalent in the socio-political *milieu* of India today. It is but continuing the disequilibria of yesterday and day before yesterday. The fundamental logic of the eternal disequilibrium in the march of progress—in freedom and democracy—is to be sought the ubiquitous and permanent presence of the *avidya,* the irrational, in the psycho-social complex. It is interesting to observe that although a thorough-going Hegelian, even Kohler in his *Lehrbuch der Rechtsphilosophie* admits the existence of the irrational as an element in life and society. According to him history is not a logical process, it is full of irrationality and lapses. "Unreason and brutality operate side by side with wisdom and stability." The *digvijaya* (world-conquest) of freedom and democracy is accordingly to proceed haltingly, tentatively. The spirit of creative man in its adventures for more freedom, more democracy and more socialism has got to get used to the stages and degrees, as well as the gradualness and provisional character of every disequilibrium initiated by it for the furtherance of human progress.

PRICE CONTROL

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THE function of price in a competitive exchange economy based on private property and freedom of contract is to adjust demand to supply. Whenever supply falls short of demand at a particular price, the price moves up and cuts off a part of the demand which becomes non-effective at the higher price level, and a new equilibrium is established between the reduced supply and the shrunken demand at a different price. The great merit of the price mechanism, when allowed to operate without interference, consists in the fact that the price it establishes is the minimum for which a thing can be offered for sale under competitive economy for any considerable length of time. Where, of course, competition is inoperative, the price system loses some of its beneficial characteristics ; and in a world of huge industrial units and closely knit national and international business combinations, the field of free and effective competition is being progressively circumscribed ; and State interference with the machinery of automatic price fixation is becoming increasingly necessary to protect the interests of the consumers. In peace time, however, over the greater part of the industrial field in capitalistic countries, prices are allowed to be regulated by free competition without interference by State action. It is in time of war that, as in so many other fields, conscious regulation by the State is substituted for the automatic working of the price mechanism.

Why is it so ? It is because the outbreak of war gives such a violent shaking to the economic system—and these jerks may continue to recur off and on during the continuation of hostilities, as one country after another joins the war, or as economic blockade is instituted or intensified—that established contacts are ruptured and chances of anti-social action multiply before new moorings are found. In the initial stages of the war, dealers with stocks of foreign goods, particularly if the goods are the products of enemy countries, anticipate a reduction or cessation of future supplies, and either begin charging higher prices immediately, even though the supplies are plentiful for the time being, or by withholding stocks from the market in anticipation of higher prices in the future, bring about a scarcity of supplies and cause an immediate rise of prices. The consumer also intensifies the rise by trying to lay in a stock of goods the prices of which they anticipate rising. This kind of action on the part of dealers is familiarly known as profiteering and it is against this kind of action that price control is immediately directed. This is, however, a passing phase, though one which causes the greatest amount of public resentment. It may be tackled in various ways, such as by Excess Profits Duty, Anti-Profiteering Acts or Price Fixation. A scheme of price fixation, with which I am primarily concerned here, works by means of regulations laying down that prices charged are not to exceed, or exceed by not more than a certain percentage, the prices ruling on a particular date, say, 1st September, 1939, as in India, or 1st August, 1939, as in Great Britain. The objection to fixing a particular date as the basic period for purposes of comparison is that it may either hit hard or treat too leniently dealers of goods which are subject to seasonal variations of price, according as the basic date fixed is one when ordinarily the price of the goods is at its lowest or highest level. Further, dealers of goods the prices of which happen to be unduly depressed at that particular date, are prevented from being put on a footing of equality with the dealers of other goods in future. There is also the further contention to be reckoned with that a dealer in fixing his price is entitled to take the replacement cost into account. Without going into the question of the justice of this claim, it may be pointed out that from the purely administrative point of view, it would be impossible to distinguish between existing and renewed stocks from time to time ; and different levels of prices cannot be adopted for the two kinds of stocks.

As there are numerous articles, and varying grades of each one of them, not all of equal importance, it would be very vexatious and would give rise to endless litigation, if the maximum price of each were to be regulated by the price fixing machinery set up. The Indian Ordinance, therefore, has taken under its protecting wings a small group of important classes of commodities like the common food articles, salt, coarser kinds of cloth, kerosene and medicines ; leaving the prices of the vast majority of other articles to be regulated either by Anti-Profiteering Acts or by the free play of the forces of demand and supply. It is essential for the success of this scheme that the regulation should be equally operative through all the different stages of the productive process, *viz.*, manufacturing, wholesaling and retailing. Further, either the regulations should be framed by the Central Government or there should be close co-operation and co-ordination among the different Provincial Governments ; otherwise it would be unfair to prevent the retailer of, say, cement in Bihar from charging higher prices, when the wholesaler in Calcutta from whom he purchases is permitted to raise his price. The economic effects of price control by means of Excess Profits Duty, Anti-Profiteering Acts and Price Fixation would be different. Under the first, and to the extent that the Excess Profits Duty is not evaded, price increases are permitted and the Duty acts as a concealed form of taxation on the consumers, particularly on consumers of imported articles, in proportion to their consumption ; under the second, price increases are permitted only to the extent to which costs have been raised ; and under the third, either price increases are not permitted at all, or permitted only to the extent thought justifiable by the regulating authority. It should be noted, however, that because prices are prevented from rising, it does not necessarily follow that excess profits are not being earned or that there is no profiteering. Such profits would accrue in spite of stability of prices, if costs are reduced as a result of works running continuously at full pressure, goods finding ready sale without price cutting, dilution of labour, temporary suspension of Factory Acts, etc. Accurate costing and careful keeping of records of prices are thus necessary for the effective working of the price fixing machinery.

Once the initial disturbances due to the outbreak of war have been mastered, there remains the question of price policy in war-time. Some rise of the price level is inevitable, if the war lasts for any length of time. It manifests itself first in the prices of articles produced in enemy countries, and here prices record their maximum rise. In spite of laws against trading with enemy countries, the supply of such goods need not be entirely cut off, inasmuch as such goods may be imported through neutral countries. Goods imported from allied countries advance in price, due to the smaller production of such goods in the country of origin, owing to man power having been partly withdrawn either to fight at the front or to produce munitions, etc., more urgently needed, greater war risks, higher transport cost and limited shipping accommodation. Goods from neutral countries too rise in price, though to a smaller extent, partly due to war risks and partly to exchange depreciation. Of the goods produced in the country itself, even if the country is not actively participating in war operations (as is the case with India), some goods would rise in price due to greater demand abroad as for jute bags ; others such as medicines and iron and steel goods produced within the country, due to shutting out of competitive imports ; still others rise in price as their production in the country is dependent on materials imported from abroad, such as sugar machinery. Prices of different goods are connected with one another in such devious and intricate ways that changes in the prices of some important classes of goods bring about sympathetic changes in the prices of most other goods as well, provided every one is able to safeguard his own interests. Such an assumption, however, is hardly true of any country, and least of all is it true of India ; with the consequence that uneven price changes adversely affect the economic condition of different classes in the community.

What is the duty of the Government with regard to such rises in price ? Where the rise is due to an increase in cost, the Government cannot but allow it unless it is prepared to subsidise the article, as the British Government did in the case of bread during the last war. Where, however, the rise is due to scarctiy of supply brought about by controlled production within the country, or controlled imports due either to restricted shipping accommodation or deliberate curtailment of the imports of inessential articles with a view to maintaining exchange and financing the essential imports, the Government might institute price control and prevent the exploitation of scarcities. But in that event, it should be noticed, as Sir William Beveridge points out in his article on "War Without Waste" in *The Times*, that "first, control of prices without assurances and control of supply is nugatory and disastrous ; and second, that keeping the price of any article in keen demand below what the consumer would pay for it almost inevitably leads to rationing or other control of consumption."

Another important cause of rise of prices in war-time is inflation of currency. Past experience has demonstrated without a vestige of doubt that if the war is a prolonged one, inflation in one form or another is bound to occur. If there is an increase in consumers' income brought about by enlarged Government expenditure without a corresponding increase of goods on which the income is spent, prices are sure to rise. But Government, which is the biggest single consumer in the community, may, in its own interests, try to control prices, at least of essential goods, in order to keep its own expenditure down. If, by a policy of rationing supplies and controlling consumption, combined with a system of price control, it can create a surplus unspent income in the pockets of consumers, then this surplus income may be made available to the Government for war expenditure either by taxation or by inducing it to be invested in war loans. There is also the further incentive to control the prices of the necessaries of life in order to keep down the cost of living of the working classes, whose income, as past experience has repeatedly shown, does not keep pace with the rise of prices ; and who, therefore, naturally become restive and discontented. This every Government, particularly democratic Governments, would try to avoid in war-time. There is yet another reason which might induce the Government to keep down the rise in price level in war-time. One of the recognised methods of financing war expenditure is by raising loans. Loans incurred in war-time, when prices are inflated and interest rates high, are repaid (or at least interest payments are continued) in peace time when prices are deflated and interest rates lower. This enhances considerably the burden of war debts. In order to reduce this future burden Governments are now attempting to control both interest rates and price levels in war-time (*vide* the reduction of the Bank-rate in England from 4 to 2 per cent. within less than two months of the declaration of war). Though, therefore, it appears from what has been said above that the Government is vitally interested in stabilising prices in war-time, yet it is not possible for it to attempt to control all prices. The utmost it can hope for is to control the prices of important standardised commodities, with the consequence that rises are concentrated on the prices of uncontrolled goods ; thus laying the Government open to the charge of being unfair in its treatment of the different sections of the community.

What is the bearing of all this argument in relation to India at the present juncture? The profiteering and forestalling tendencies manifest at the outbreak of hostilities have been effectively dealt with by the Defence of India Rules and the country is gradually settling down to war conditions. Scarcity may manifest itself in regard to imported goods due to submarine and aerial warfare, limited shipping accommodation, etc., and prices may rule higher than costs, and some amount of control over supply and prices may prove desirable ; but for the present the control mechanism set up by the Government does not in general apply to imports. Scarcity due to controlled production necessitated by the diversion of material and human resources to war purposes is not likely to manifest itself in India and price control is not called for on this score. Even the feared rise in house-rents proves on a reference to the experience of the last war, to be not such as to call for special intervention on the part of Government. There remains, however, the important cause of rise in prices due to increase of cost and inflation. It is proposed to control this on the " cost plus " basis. If the war drags on and war materials and food-grains come to be purchased in large quantities for export, if Indian fighting forces are substantially enlarged and the expenses of Indian troops fighting abroad are met out of Indian exchequer and if war loans are raised in India, prices and costs are bound to rise. Even were none of these things to happen in India, but if there is inflation and rise of prices in the United Kingdom, it is bound to produce repercussions on Indian prices unless the exchange rate is deliberataly manipulated in the interest of price stability in India. The history of Indian prices during the last European war (1914-18), however, shows that the prices of goods produced in India rose much less than the prices of imported goods. Thus the index number of prices of articles of export rose from 100 in 1913 to 129 in 1918, while the corresponding index number of the prices of imported articles rose from 100 to 247. Among the important commodities the prices of which rose considerably in India during the last war were metals, cotton and jute manufactures, coal, salt, sugar, ghee, wheat and kerosene. We have seen that the maximum rises occurred in the case of imported goods (naturally enough, when we remember that maritime freights alone rose to anything from eight to twenty-seven times the pre-war rates in the course of the first three and a half years of war). Since the last war, however, our industrial production of cotton manufactures, metals and sugar has increased considerably, and their prices are not likely to increase so much during the present war as they did during the last war. The rise in the price of salt was partly due to the increase of salt duty during the last war and the same may be expected during the present war too. The conference of Marketing Officers held recently at Delhi pointed out that the fixing of prices presents enormous difficulties and that price fixing should, therefore, be resorted to only in special cases. In my opinion, as indicated by the experience of the last European war, the price fixing machinery recently set up should take under its protection a selected group of important commodities such as those indicated above, and keep careful records of prices, supplies, production costs, distribution charges, etc. The prices of most other commodities may be left to be regulated by the free play of the forces of demand, supply and competition. It may be pointed out here that Indian prices had not recovered from the last slump (1930-34) quite to the same extent as prices in manufacturing countries like the United Kingdom ; and since the middle of 1937 there has been a further set back. As is well-known, the Indian rupee, at the current rate of exchange, is undervalued in relation to sterling. I, therefore, agree with the view expressed by the Provincial Marketing Officers at Delhi that the agriculturist is entitled to look forward to some increase in the price of his produce and it is undesirable for the present to check any rise in the price of agricultural produce that may come his way. In fact prices of agricultural produce are more influenced by weather conditions than by the exigencies of war. The price index of food-grains during the last war increased from 100 in 1913 to 134 in 1918, yet the increase did not exceed 14 per cent. during the first three years of war, though some allowance has to be made here for the rise in exchange rate which has the tendency of keeping down prices.

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BRIDGING THE GULFS*

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ONE of the objects with which the Indian Political Science Association was started last year was to bring together students of political science and persons engaged in the active pursuit of politics. It is often said that politicians live from day to day and from hand to mouth. Although this indictment seems to be too severe, the fact remains that few poilticians find time to go to the roots of political questions or to take comprehensive views of public matters requiring immediate decision. They are, generally speaking, so engrossed with the present and the near future that they are apt to lose sight of the ultimate consequences of the measures adopted by them. The result is that statesmen often find it difficult to correlate their actions with their professed principles. On the other hand, there is a tendency on the part of political thinkers to be so enamoured of theories that they often become oblivious of the existence of facts. Besides, as most of the scholars are not in active touch with public affairs, they hardly find opportunities to test their theories in the light of experience. This circumstance fosters a mentality which is not favourable to the proper appreciation of the realities of the situation at a particular moment. Thus there arises a gulf between politicians and political theorists. Our Association seeks to bridge this gulf. But the application of this principle of bridging gulfs may be extended to other spheres of thought and action. In India, the divergences are so many and so great that it may perhaps be found useful to consider to what extent this principle may be applied to the existing political situation of the country. Therefore, I take this topic as the subject of my brief discourse at this Conference.

Opinion differs in India on the value to be attached to the ideas of realism and idealism in politics. This difference is more temperamental than fundamental, and it is not impossible to reconcile the views of the advocates of the two schools of thought. Nothing of enduring value can be achieved in a country unless its people are influenced by high ideals, but it should be remembered that ideals which have no relation to the facts of the situation tend to become idols. On the other hand, while an intimate touch with facts is essential in the conduct of public affairs, too great an emphasis on realities leads to stagnation. Therefore, a combination of idealism and realism is the best means of ensuring the growth of a healthy public life in India.

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* Delivered as Presidential Address at the Indian Political Science Conference held at Lahore on January 2, 1940.

The apparent antagonism between the claims of the individual and of society furnishes a ground for controversy. Individualists suggest that society exists for the individual, while socialists maintain that society is of greater importance than the individual. The difference arises from the fact that undue emphasis is laid by each side on one aspect of the problem. But if a balanced view is taken, it will be found that there is no real conflict between the two rival theories. Man is born an individual, but he is born in society. Therefore, he has two aspects, one individual and the other social, and both these aspects are interdependent. In fact, while society is the creation of individuals, individuals themselves are the products of society. Modern socialism is in a considerable degree the reaction from the extreme individualism of the first half of the nineteenth century. In India, society and individual have been reconciled through the ages, and it ought not to be a difficult task to bring about the same reconciliation at the present day.

Capitalism is a particular phase of individualism. The phenomenal growth of large-scale industry after the commencement of the Industrial Revolution led to a concentration of wealth and power in the hands of a small number of persons in every economically advanced country of the world. Thus arose a conflict between the rich few and the poor many. In order to avoid the evils of the capitalistic system, various forms of socialism were advocated, the most extreme of these forms being communism. This form of socialism was established in Russia two decades ago, but during the period of its existence it has undergone considerable modification. The system is still in the experimental stage, but the politicians and economists of all countries may learn valuable lessons from the partial success which it has already achieved. It should, however, be remembered that the circumstances in which this great experiment was and is being tried in Russia are very different from those in India. Besides, the methods adopted for introducing and maintaining the system hardly appear to be suitable for India.

Large-scale industry is beginning to make a headway in India, although so far its progress has not been very rapid. This is, therefore, the most opportune moment when we should carefully examine the merits and defects of capitalism. Considerable amount of labour legislation has already been enacted in India in order to improve the lot of the working class. But it would be taking too optimistic a view of the situation to think that all that was needed has been done. As for the theory of socialism, it seems that Marx's economic interpretation, whatever may have been the case in other countries, has found only a limited application in the history of India. Man has not lived in this country by bread alone in the past and is not likely to live by bread alone in future. But it cannot be denied that the economic motive is one of the most important motives which influence men in India as elsewhere. It may not be possible to bring about absolute equality among individuals, but equality of opportunity should be afforded to all in the greatest measure possible. Capital is an essential factor in industry, but it ought to be available without bringing in its train the evils usually attendant on capitalism. Competition should be supplemented, and in a considerable measure replaced, by co-operative effort. Time will show whether it will be possible to bring about a compromise between capitalism and socialism by mitigating the rigours of the former and making the latter more consonant with human nature. Meanwhile, serious efforts should be made to rid the capitalistic system of its undesirable features.

A conflict between the ideas of stability and change gives rise to considerable difference of opinion. The advocates of order seem often to ignore the necessity for progress, while those who favour change often forget that order is the most essential condition of progress. An appeal to reason, however, convinces us that too much insistence on stability arrests all development, while too frequent changes open the door to chaos and confusion. Again, the question of the pace of progress gives rise to a controversy about the respective merits and demerits of evolution and revolution. If we bestow serious thought on the question, we become convinced that evolution should be regarded as the normal process and revolution can be justified only in the most extreme circumstances: The true test by which the desirability or otherwise of a resort to a revolution should be judged is whether its consequences are likely to be beneficial or disastrous. A light-hearted talk about the creation of a revolutionary mentality in the country is fraught with the most dangerous possibilities. The ultimate aim of revolutionists is the establishment of a new order. Thus nothing is more absurd than the cry which is often heard, "Long Live Revolution!"

Revolutions in other countries mostly take a violent shape, but in India a non-violent revolution is suggested by many of the revolutionists. This is due to the influence of Mahatma Gandhi whose abhorrence of violence has created a healthy atmosphere in Indian politics. Almost all political parties have now adopted non-violence as their creed or policy. Whether or not this attitude will be permanent depends very largely on the attitude of the authorities who control India's destiny. Non-violent resistance as a means of attaining aims is consonant with India's tradition. Although this method was mostly applied in respect of non-political matters, instances are not wanting in the history of India of its application to political issues. The historian, James Mill, records that in 1815 the residents of the city of Benares adopted the policy of non-violent resistance when a house-tax was first sought to be introduced within its municipal limits.

But while politically-minded Indians have agreed to use non-violent weapons in their fight with the British Government, many of them do not see eye to eye with Mahatma Gandhi in respect of the effectiveness of these weapons for other purposes. They do not think that non-violence is likely to be of any use for defence against an invading army either from the west or from the east. They, therefore, urge that India should be fully equipped in all the branches of its fighting force,—the army, the navy, and the air force,—that the distinction between martial and non-martial races be removed, that Indians be appointed as commissioned officers in all the ranks of the defence service, and that a large volunteer force be created on a national basis. Thus a compromise is sought to be made between the rival doctrines of violence and non-violence. Nor is there any inconsistency in the view that, while violence should not be used as a weapon of offence, force is necessary for the purpose of defence so long as other countries remain wedded to the cult of force. Mahatma Gandhi's creed of non-violence in thought, word, and deed, at all times and in all circumstances, will remain an ideal to be realised when the cult of force will give place to the creed of reason in every country of the world.

The differences based on divergences of race, colour, religion, language, and culture serve as great impediments to the progress of the country. The theory of racial superiority has been rejected by all political thinkers, and, in spite of Hitler's attempt to revive it, is not likely to be accepted again. But, in India, this policy is still in vogue as a fundamental part of her administrative policy. The colour bar, despite solemn pledges of its removal, continues to be a fruitful source of irritation and discontent. Amongst Indians themselves diversity of religions is productive of a wholly irrational and erratic attitude. If the essence of all religions really be the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, religion should be a unifying factor. But, unfortunately, the reverse is the case in India at the present moment. Differences based on religion were, until recently, the causes of strife and discord in many European countries, but a better state of things has been brought into existence by the separation of politics from religion. The most recent instance of such separation is to be found in Turkey, where a phenomenal progress has been made possible within a short period of time by the adoption of such a policy. As for the observance of religious rites, the followers of every religion should be left free. If cow-sacrifice and devotional music be regarded as religious rites, surely one community can perform them without wounding the susceptibilities of the other communities. What is needed to avoid a conflict is a spirit of tolerance and accommodation, and there is no reason why this should not be forthcoming. It is worthy of note that the Congress has recently taken up the question and instructed all its town and village Committees to persuade the people to avoid all causes of conflict and to spread ideas of amity and goodwill among all classes.

A large number of languages is used in India, but this fact is not an insuperable obstacle in the way of achieving political unity. The English language has so far helped to a great extent the inter-provincial communication of thought, and there is no reason to think that its spread will be checked in future. Besides, some of the Indian languages are making such tremendous headway that any one of them may in course of time become the *lingua franca* of the country. Such development, however, should be left to follow its own natural course, and any artificial stimulus given to one language in preference to others is likely to produce more harm than good. The compulsory teaching of Hindusthani in the schools of the Madras Presidency has given rise to much dissatisfaction. It would be wise to make Hindusthani an optional language and to abandon the attempt to force it on unwilling persons. Culture, if it is real, should improve the relations between the different classes of society. But, unfortunately, it has formed a basis of conflict in recent years. It should be regarded as a fortunate circumstance that India is a land of many cultures, for, if proper steps are taken, a synthesis of these cultures may lead to the formation of a higher and nobler culture than what exists in any other part of the world.

Coming to purely political issues we find that differences of opinion exist in India as in other countries in regard to the functions of government, though these are of less vital importance here than elsewhere. The idea of an all-embracing, all-pervading State has never found favour in this country. On the other hand, the view that the functions of government should be restricted only to the maintenance of external security and internal order is considered to be extremely inadequate. The State will have to play a very important part in the development of the political, economic, and social life of the people, but it will be desirable for it to adopt a policy of non-intervention in regard to questions like religion, culture, and language. Such a policy is likely to promote harmony and goodwill among the different sections of the population. While the State should be the supreme organisation, the autonomy of institutions created for special purposes ought not to be interfered with.

As for the form of government, democracy has been accepted as the most desirable form by all the political parties in India, although a few persons have recently expressed doubts as to its suitability to the conditions of the country. Dictatorship, whether of the right or of the left, is wholly unacceptable to India. Some critics say that democracy is foreign to the traditions of the people. Nothing can be farther from truth than such a statement. In ancient times, republican governments existed in many parts of the country. Even after monarchy had become the prevalent form of government, democratic tradition continued to exist, especially in the sphere of local administration. This fact did not escape the attention of the more careful among the early European observers. For instance, Samuel Laing, an eminent thinker and a distinguished member of the British House of Commons, who came out to India as a Finance Member of the Government, remarked in 1862 : "India is not altogether devoid of that spirit of self-government which characterises the Anglo-Saxon, for in her village communities and *panchayats* can still be found traces which remind us that the Hindu, as well as the Englishman, is descended from a common stock of Aryan ancestors."

Democracy possesses elements of strength as well as of weakness. In order to derive the largest measure of benefit from the working of this system of government it should be our earnest endeavour to secure its good features and eschew its evil aspects. The type of democracy which we should try to establish in India ought to be one in which it may be possible to combine popular association and control with guidance by "the wisest, the most intelligent, and the best." We should also place the highest ideals before our eyes. The aim of government in India ought to be nothing less than "the greatest good of the greatest number."

Democratic government is often described as the rule of the majority. This is not quite correct. In a true democracy every variety of opinion is heard and the legitimate interests of every section of the population are safeguarded. The practice of deciding disputed questions by the device of counting heads is an arrangement adopted for the sake of convenience. It does not imply that the majority has an inherent right, apart from the reasonableness of its action, to ride roughshod over the desires of the minority. The rigour of the doctrine of majority rule is, as a matter of fact, greatly softened by a spirit of compromise in every democratic country. Indeed, as Lord Acton points out, "the most certain test by which we judge whether a country is really free is the amount of security enjoyed by minorities." Democracy is government by discussion and persuasion, and this fact is calculated to bring about harmony in the relations of the different classes of people in India.

Indian opinion is almost unanimous in respect of the desirability of establishing responsible government at the centre as well as in the provinces. The manner in which the Congress ministers have worked the limited measure of responsibility in the provincial field during the last two years and a half affords ample hope for its future success. But there is considerable difference of opinion as to the composition of the cabinet. Until a few weeks ago, six of the autonomous provinces possessed homogeneous cabinets, while in the remaining five provinces the cabinets were constructed on the coalition principle. The advantage of the homogeneous cabinet is that the formulation of policy is easy, and the programme can be carried out expeditiously and without much difficulty. But in a unified cabinet the minority parties remain unrepresented, with the result that their co-operation is not available. A composite cabinet is helpful to the growth of solidarity among the different sections of the people. It must be admitted, however, that it is difficult to form a coalition between representatives of parties which differ widely and fundamentally not only in outlook but also in respect of the goal. But no great harm is likely to ensue if further experiments are made in forming coalition cabinets in the provinces.

This brings me to the discussion of the existing party system in India. Some of the parties are founded on political principles, while others are based on racial, communal, or class considerations. The Congress Party is the biggest and the most influential of all the parties in India Its assertion that it seeks to represent the people of India as a whole has been described in certain quarters as a claim verging on totalitarianism. This is an unfair accusation. The Congress does not represent the interests of any class or community but represents the political aspirations of the Indian nation. In that sense it is a national, and not a sectional, institution. Surely, it does not put forward the absurd claim that it represents the views of every individual and every class in India. The Congress Nationalist Party has the same goal as the Congress Party but it differs from the latter mainly in regard to its attitude towards the Communal Award. The Socialist Party is a group within the Congress whose object is to establish democratic socialism in India. The outlook of the Hindu Mahasabha is national, although its membership is restricted to the followers of a particular religion. The Indian Christian Association has recently adopted a national attitude in respect of political questions. The other parties are frankly communal both in composition and in outlook. The net result of the activities of some of the parties has been an enormous growth of communalism in the country in recent years.

The situation in respect of parties in India is a very complex one, but it is not more complex than the party situations in most countries of continental Europe. The party system is a useful, if not an indispensable, adjunct of democracy; but its demerits are as serious as its merits are undoubted. In a country like India, where the multiple-party system prevails, the demerits tend to outweigh the merits. Narrowness, arrogance, and intolerance have already become the marked characteristics of the attitude of some of the parties in their dealings with others. Besides, the complaint is often heard that a rigid enforcement of party discipline is tending to impair individual liberty. It should be remembered that an indiscriminate or a too frequent use of the disciplinary rod often defeats its own object. Nor should it be forgotten that an excess of party spirit is destructive of the spirit of nationalism.

This brings me to the question of Indian nationalism. There are some critics who say that racial, religious, and linguistic differences are so great in the country that the growth of Indian nationality is well nigh impossible. This is a superficial view. Geographical distinctness, identity of economic interests, a common tradition of suffering, and a keen desire for freedom and self-rule bind together the different elements of Indian society in an indissoluble bond and constitute the bases of a fundamental unity. Differences exist, but they are not of so serious a character as to hinder permanently the growth of nationalism in the country. It is true that in recent years the differences have in some cases taken a more or less acute form, but this state of things must be regarded as a passing phase. By mutual tolerance and forbearance the divergences can be made to assume insignificant proportions. As a matter of fact, a considerable degree of national feeling already exists in the country, and the future of Indian nationalism is by no means so dark as some people assume it to be.

Nationalism is an indispensable necessity for India for enabling the country not only to gain freedom but also to retain it. But it is not an unmixed good for all countries, and in all circumstances. ‘ My country, right or wrong ’ is a doctrine which is full of mischievous implications. A crude form of patriotism encourages the desire for national aggrandisement. The history of ill-conceived nationalism is the record of disastrous struggles between country and country and between race and race. The present war in Europe is the outcome of aggressive nationalism. India should be on her guard, from the beginning of her career as a free nation, against the growth of a feeling of aggression among her people.

Aggressive nationalism, when successful, takes the form of imperialism. This is a great evil, for it has been responsible in the past for the enslavement of free nations, the exploitation of weak countries, the destruction of cultures, and the dwarfing of the human race. The services rendered by imperialist countries to the subordinate races are exceedingly small in comparison with the wrongs inflicted on them. Imperialism is one of the most important causes of war. A clash of imperialisms led to the European War of 1914-18. Some of the participants in the present war, if not all of them, have been actuated by imperialistic aims. India herself has felt the full weight of imperialism ; and although there have been some redeeming features in the system of British rule in India, the people of the country are not in a mood now to tolerate it any longer. A British minister said a few days ago that imperialism no longer governed the relations between England and India. If this be a correct statement, it is to be welcomed as a happy augury for the future relations between the two countries.

The only safeguard against aggressive nationalism and imperialism is internationalism. While every individual should be proud to regard himself as a unit of his nation, he should feel equally proud to be a unit of the great human race. Internationalism is not the antithesis of nationalism ; it is the extension of the nation-idea to humanity. It was a noble impulse which urged President Woodrow Wilson to take the initiative in founding the League of Nations. But this institution has failed to attain most of the objects for which it was created. On the economic side it has done good work. It has also done a considerable amount of useful work in regard to questions relating to education, sanitation, and public health. Further, it has served as a clearing-house of information on many important subjects. But on the political side, its failure has been almost complete. Among the causes of its failure may be mentioned the non-participation of the United States, the association of the League with the Versailles Treaty, and the non-provision of an international army or police force under its control. But the most important cause of the failure of the League has been the existence of weak nations side by side with strong nations wedded to an imperialist policy. The League is now practically dead, however, it is to be hoped that out of its ashes will soon arise a new League of Peoples, resplendent in glory and full of life. This can, however, happen only when India becomes independent, when imperialism becomes a thing of the past, and when all nations of the world, strong and weak, become free. It will be then, and not till then, that there will be a real parliament of man and a true federation of the world.

While internationalism is an ideal in advance of nationalism, provincialism is a retrograde idea. Unfortunatley, a great deal of provincial-mindedness has become evident in India since the advent of provincial autonomy. This has been due, in the main, to narrowness of outlook. It is quite natural that a big country like India should be divided into provinces for administrative convenience. But if provincial feeling is allowed to grow unchecked, it is sure to stand in the way of the healthy growth of nationalism. One phase of provincialism, however, is not unjustified. A demand has been made that the existing provinces of India be reconstituted on a linguistic basis. This is a fair and natural demand which should be complied with soon. On the same principle and as a corollary to this re-arrangement, the boundaries of the older provinces should be re-adjusted if it be found that these contain inhabitants speaking languages different from their own.

The question of representation in the legistatures and the local bodies is a source of acute difference in India. The system which prevails at present is not the representation of the people but the representation of races, creeds, classes, sexes, and special interests. Separate electorates have been provided in the existing constitution for Europeans, Anglo-Indians, Indian Christians, the Sikhs, the Scheduled Castes, landholders, European commerce, Indian commerce, and the Universities. Special representation has been thrust upon women in spite of their protests. It has been remarked that the object of this system is "the vivisection of the body politic of India." But the justification urged in its favour is the existence of differences. It is true that there are many differences in India, but no useful purpose is served by exaggerating them. In some cases, differences have been deliberately fostered. Nor has the demand for separate electorates been entirely spontaneous. The consequence of this system of separate communal representation has been an enormous growth of dissensions between race and race, between class and class, and between community and community. Separation has led to the demand for further separation, and antagonism has taken the place of harmony This system of representation, therefore, must be regarded as an evil, and in the interests of the unity and peace of the couutry it should be removed at the earliest possible moment.

Recruitment to the public services is a subject which has given rise to a great deal of controversy. For a long period beginning with the establishment of British rule in this country all the superior services, both civil and military, were manned almost exclusively by recruits from Britain. The solemn pledges given by the Charter Act of 1833 and the Queen's Proclamation of 1858 were honoured more in the breach than in the observance thereof. But in recent years, a gradual, though slow, process of Indianisation has resulted in a considerable proportion of the higher offices being filled by the children of the soil. The subordinate posts have always been mostly held by Indians. The services question has two aspects, one public and the other personal. The former relates to the needs of administration and the latter refers to the opportunities of individuals for securing profit and position. It need hardly be said that the first aspect is far and away the more important, but, unfortunately, greater emphasis is often laid on the latter. The fact is well known that, while administrative policies are formulated by the ministries in the provinces and the Executive Council at the centre, the actual carrying out of these policies devolves on the members of the various services, superior as well as inferior. Thus the success or failure of the administration depends very largely on the ability and integrity of the officers. Therefore, the qualifications which should be insisted on for recruitment to the services should be the maximum available.

Unfortunately, both at the centre and in some of the provinces, certain percentages have for some time past been fixed for recruitment from the different communities, and in the case of some of these communities only the minimum qualifications have been demanded of the candidates. This has resulted in a considerable deterioration of administrative efficiency, and it is apprehended that a continuance of this policy will be a source of greater harm in future. If the question be considered from the personal point of view, it is found that the system involves great injustice to those persons whose qualifications entitle them to employment but who are declared ineligible on the ground of their colour or creed. Besides, the non-recognition of the principle of equal opportunities for all cannot fail to create discontent. But the system is sought to be defended on the ground that, as all the communities in India are not equally advanced, special treatment is necessary in order to give encouragement to the less advanced communities. The true way of getting out of this difficulty, however, lies in affording adequate educational facilities to the less advanced communities and not in giving them unfair advantages. Further, it is argued that this is a method of securing the goodwill of the specially favoured communities. If it be thought desirable to purchase communal harmony even at the price of the loss of administrative efficiency and the sacrifice of equity and fairness, the percentage of reservation should not be high, and it should be definitely laid down that the reservation would automatically diminish year by year. Unless merit alone is accepted as the ultimate test, there will be no incentive on the part of the backward sections to make serious efforts to reach the level of the more advanced sections of the population.

Another matter connected with the public services deserves attention. While the administrative officers should be under the control and supervision of the ministers, they should not be unduly interfered with in the discharge of their responsibilities. For the successful working of self-government in India it will be necessary to create a body of efficient and conscientious officers who will perform their duties fearlessly and without the expectation of favours. But this will not become possible unless a substantial measure of freedom is secured to the various services under Government.

Coming to the question of the future constitution of India we find that differences of opinion which exist as to the goal of India's political aspirations are not of a serious kind. Complete Independence has been adopted as the ideal by the Indian National Congress, the Hindu Mahasabha, and the Muslim League, while the Liberal Federation still clings to the ideal of Dominion Status. The difference between the two ideals, however, is one more of nomenclature than of substance. According to the definition adopted at the Imperial Conference of 1926, which was ratified by the Statute of Westminster, 1931, a Dominion is equal in status to Great Britain, and is independent in every aspect of its external as well as its domestic affairs. Besides, the provision that the association of a Dominion with the other parts of the Commonwealth of Nations should be free implies that the right of secession is guaranteed to it. It may be argued that the ideal of Complete Independence carries with it greater prestige and honour than the ideal of Dominion Status, but in the modern world national prestige and glory should be considered to be of less value than peace and goodwill among nations. Lastly, if the question be looked at from the practical standpoint, it would be found that isolation may be attended with greater risk and difficulty than free association with a Commonwealth of Free Peoples.

This controversy regarding India's political goal has a history behind it. In 1906, the Indian National Congress accepted 'Self-government obtaining in the self-governing British colonies' as its goal. In 1920, the goal was changed to 'the attainment of Swaraj by peaceful and legitimate means.' In 1927, the Congress declared the goal of the Indian people to be 'Complete Independence.' In the following year, however, the Congress passed a Resolution to the effect that, if the constitution embodied in the All-Parties' Committee Report, which was based on Dominion Status, was accepted in its entirety by the British Parliament before the 31st December, 1929, it would be acceptable to the Congress. But as this condition was not complied with in the course of the year, the Congress in 1929 declared the entire scheme of the All-Parties' Committee Report to have lapsed and urged "all Congressmen to devote their exclusive attention to the attainment of Complete Independence for India."

Thus it appears that time has been the most essential factor in the evolution of India's political goal. This fact has, however, been ignored by the authorities in India as well as in England. On the 31st October, 1929, the Governor-General stated that it was implicit in the declaration of 1917 that the natural issue of India's constitutional progress, as therein contemplated, was the attainment of Dominion Status. The Government of India Act, 1935, was discreetly silent about the matter. But Lord Irwin's declaration has recently been reiterated by the Governor-General as well as by the Secretary of State. Politically-minded India, however, is not in a mood to accept Dominion Status as a goal to be reached in the distant future. If Dominion Status is granted immediately, it is likely to be acceptable to the country. The gulf between the goal and the immediate objective is not unbridgeable, and if the British Government is able to take the right step without delay, cordial relations of a permanent character may be established between India and Britain.

The existing system of government, with democracy in the provinces and autocracy at the centre, is an anomaly, and the sooner it disappears the better for all concerned. An All-India Federation is contemplated in the Government of India Act, 1935, but many of its provisions are unacceptable to the Indian National Congress. The strongest exception is taken by the Congress as well as by most of the other political parties to the reservation of defence and foreign relations, the enormous powers vested in the Governor-General and the Crown Representative, indirect elections, nomination of States' representatives by the

Rulers, and the system of representation in British India by special electorates. The Muslim League is opposed to the Federation because it apprehends domination by the Hindu majority. The Indian Princes are not fully satisfied with the privileges which have already been granted to them and want further concessions to be made in their favour.

The objections raised by the Congress are based on sound principles, and can be easily met if the British Government can make up its mind to part with real power. For the satisfaction of the Muslim League safeguards may be provided in the new constitution of the country. If the Princes, instead of being guided by sentiment, take a reasonable and far-sighted view of the situation, they will become convinced that, by joining the Federation, they will not only safeguard their own positions but will be able to play a worthy part in the political evolution of the whole country.

The advent of the war in Europe has led to the suspension of activities connected with the inauguration of the Federation in view of the pre-occupation of the Government, but the scheme has not been abandoned. The war has indeed created a new situation fraught with immense possibilities for good or evil according to the manner in which it may be handled. India, true to her ancient traditions, has extended her moral support to the Allies and is willing to co-operate with Britain in the prosecution of the war. But, in order that such co-operation may be effective and whole-hearted, the British Government should make a friendly gesture. The question of bargaining does not arise at all. India's desire for freedom is age-old; nor is the demand for its recognition a new one. Indeed, the present is the most opportune moment for Britain to recognise India's right. It is not clear what special difficulty there can be in applying the principles of democracy and self-determination to the case of India.

Unfortunately, the declarations of the high officers of Government in this regard, both in England and in India, have so far been most disappointing. The statement of His Excellency the Governor-General did not evince any desire on the part of the Government to meet the wishes of the people. The suggestion regarding the formation of a Consultative Committee was entirely beside the point. But the tone of His Excellency's speech was mild and conciliatory. The speeches of the Secretary of State were even less helpful towards a better understanding between Britain and India. This was rather surprising, for the Marquis of Zetland had always enjoyed the reputation of being not only an astute politician and an erudite scholar but also a fair-minded man. But the least helpful speech was that of Sir Samuel Hoare, some parts of which were harsh in tone and provocative in spirit. Besides, his treatment of the controversial topics was most unsatisfactory. On the question of communal differences he said: "We have shown our good faith in the matter. We showed it when we made the Communal Award." Surely it would have been better for his own and his country's reputation if Sir Samuel had cited some instances of good faith other than that of the Communal Award. If the Award had been a fair and equitable one, the situation in India to-day would have been entirely different. Sir Samuel observed further: "But in spite of the Award these divisions exist." The truth is that it is not in spite of, but because of, the Communal Award that divisions exist and have become greatly accentuated. The so-called Award gave an unfair advantage to some of the parties, which naturally encouraged them to clamour for more such advantages. On the other hand, it treated one party in a most inequitable manner, which created a feeling of intense discontent.

It should be said, however, to the credit of many British statesmen outside the Government that they showed a great deal of fairness and foresight in dealing with the situation. The names of men like Lord Samuel and Mr. Wedgwood Benn will always be remembered as earnest advocates of a policy of friendship between Britain and India. The more enlightened section of the British press also gave full support to India's demands. *The New Statesman and Nation* wrote: "India, indeed, is the crux. We are on our trial before the whole civilized world. From Washington to Moscow every impartial onlooker is asking the question that Indians have posed: Is this a war for the imperial *status quo* or for a new democratic world-order? The same question shapes itself in the mind of the German people. Not to-day, but some months or years hence, the answer it frames on our record may decide the issue of this war. If we dare give India liberty, we shall win the leadership of all free peoples. But if we meet a rebel India with coercion, will any one in Europe or America mistake us for the champions of democracy?"

The sum and substance of the declarations of the British Government is that they have special responsibilities to the minorities and the Princes and obligations to the British commercial community, and that so long as these problems are not solved, no constitutional advance will be possible in India. The problems have been created or fostered by the British Government, and now to throw the burden of solving them on the people of India is hardly fair. But the problems, though complex and difficult, are not absolutely insoluble. A solution, however, will be possible only if goodwill is available on all sides. The attitude of the majority party must be conciliatory, and the demands of the minorities should be based on reason and commonsense. It would be inconsistent with all principles of political science and all canons of equity to urge that the minorities should have a permanent veto on the majority. Nor can any minority, however important and powerful, be given the right to hold up the progress of the country on the ground of the possibility of its interests being affected. The British Government can show their sincerity by taking the initiative in the matter. If they agree to do so, let them take courage in both hands to create the proper machinery for dealing with the problem. But if they do not, they will be charged with advancing a specious plea in order to perpetuate their rule in this country.

The only satisfactory machinery for settling all differences as well as for considering the details of the future constitution of India is a Constituent Assembly. It is true that a Constituent Assembly is generally formed after a successful revolution. But there is nothing to prevent the formation of such an Assembly in India by a friendly arrangement with Britain. This body should be constituted on the basis of proportional representation, so that all minorities and special interests may be represented on it. There should be no communal representation. If the Constituent Assembly be formed on the basis of separate electorates, the representatives will be swayed by communal considerations, and this will stand in the way of satisfactory decisions being reached on national lines. In order to allay the fears and suspicions of the minorities it may be laid down that only such decisions on communal questions as are carried by a somewhat larger majority than a bare one, say three-fifths, would be given effect to. It will be one of the main duties of the Constituent Assembly to provide safeguards in the new constitution for the minorities in the shape of fundamental rights to be guaranteed by an appeal to the Federal Court or, if necessary, to an international tribunal.

India's attitude towards Britain has never been one of uncompromising hostility. Dadabhai Naoroji pleaded for co-operation all his life. Surendranath Banerjea offered active co-operation even after repeated disappointments and in the face of a growing public opposition to his policy. Mahatma Gandhi, after pursuing for a time a policy of non-co-operation, is again ready for co-operation. The bulk of the people is still prepared to co-operate, provided that co-operation can be offered on fair and honourable terms. Will British statesmanship rise to the occasion and make it possible for India to march side by side with Britain in defence of democracy and freedom and for the good of humanity ?

The urgent need of the hour in India is harmony and goodwill. This can be secured by an enlightened sense of citizenship and a unity of purpose. We must all think of our country first and of everything else afterwards. As for unity, what is necessary and desirable is unity in diversity, not absolute uniformity in thought, sentiment, and action. Therefore, let our motto be: "In things essential, unity ; in things non-essential, liberty ; in all things, charity." If we render not mere lip-service to this motto but make it our rule of conduct in our daily relations with all individuals, and races, and communities, most of the existing gulfs will be bridged soon and India's cherished ideals will be realized at no distant date.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF HARDY'S DETERMINISM—II

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SCIENTIFIC thought was taking vast strides after the year 1859 when Darwin published his epoch-making work "On the Origin of Species by means of Natural Selection or The Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life." The new theory of Darwin had two far-reaching effects: (*a*) It contradicted the teachings of Biblical orthodoxy or that account of natural origins which among devout Protestants was authoritatively recorded in prose in the Book of Genesis and in poetry in Milton's "Paradise Lost"; (*b*) It gave a staggering blow to a principle widely known as "Purpose," "Final Cause," "Providence" and "Design." Darwinism created the impression of reducing nature to an all-prevading and ceaseless flux without refuge or anchorage. Life had always worn an aspect of generation and decay by the Platonic-Aristotlean idea that the forms which it embodied were permanent and by the Christian idea that it was a manifestation of eternal benevolence. Now all these notions which provided spiritual solace to many seemed to disappear into a flow sweeping blindly or without origin, destination or fixed landmarks.

Darwin proposed to reconcile evolution with traditional ethics through the conception of adaptation. Some degree of mutual aid or sociality and sympathy is a condition of the survival of a race and is, therefore, as "natural" as the self-seeking propensities. Conscience may be construed in this sense as a sort of favourable variation. An evolutionary ethics based on practically the same ideology had been developed by Spencer independently of Darwin but under the influence of Comte. The element of struggle, he held, is characteristic of the brutes but human conduct is guided by two principles :—

(*a*) Absence of mutual hindrance and injury.
(*b*) Mutual co-operation and assistance.

Both in the case of Darwin and Spencer wish was father to the thought. The principles suggested above are the best lines of advancement, but humanity is far from approaching it. Hardy also contemplates a future moulded this wise, but experience of the individualistic tendencies made him despair of any such hopes. He says: " We call our age an age of Freedom, yet freedom under her incubus of armaments, territorial ambitions snugly disguised as patriotism, superstitions and conventions, of every sort, is of such stunted proportions in this her so-called time, that the human race is likely to be extinct before Freedom arrives at maturity."[1]

Huxley (1825-95), on the other hand, presents natural life as the antithesis of the moral life. In the natural life the individual exploits his superiority, and the weak are allowed to suffer the fatal consequences of their weakness; whereas in the moral life as envisaged by Spencer and Darwin, the weak are protected by the self-sacrifice or existence of others. We know that Hardy finds himself constrained to accept rather the painful conclusions of Huxley than the optimistic estimate of human nature as given by Spencer and Darwin. It is in Nietzsche that we have the most blatant spokesman of the necessity and justification of natural life. Let the strong man assert his strength, and in this way guarantee the future of the race. It is this idea that links the evolutionary principles of Darwin, untrammelled by ethical considerations, with the ethics of Nietzsche. The latter, though he came early in his life under the formative influence of Schopenhauer, reversed the ethical implications of his pessimistic philosophy. Instead of stresssing compassion and the moral to combat " Will," the Naturalistic Philosophy of Nietzche, developed in the light of " the Survival of the Fittest," puts a premium on Egoism. This is also the undercurrent of Leslie Stephen and Huxley's speculation.

The one great difference between the two groups of Evolutionary empiricists, Spenser and Leslie Stephen and Darwin and Huxley, is that the latter in their quest for knowledge do not speculate as to the nature of the unknown. Darwin kept the life of a scientist apart from that of a man of faith and religion and hence did not attempt to tackle the metaphysical problem of the Primal Force. Spencer identified it with the Persistence of Force. Leslie Stephen professed his ignorance. We have already referred to the influence of this on George Eliot. Just about this time Edward von Hartmann's book " The Philosophy of the Unconscious " came to enjoy a widespread popularity. He was the most original among the disciples of Schopenhauer and wanted to construct a new monism that might escape the opposite errors of Hegel and Schopenhauer. The former, identifying the real with the rational, was unable to offer any satisfactory account of the irrational and changing aspects of the world ; while the latter, identifying the real with the Blind Will, was equally unable to account for order and purpose. This reconciliation was effected by Hartmann by discovering the principle of the Unconscious which partakes both of reason and will. It is called " The Unconscious " because it underlies the very process of natural development in which consciousness appears.[1] Hartmann accepted materialism so far as it teaches that consciousness is conditioned by the brain, and argued that consciousness cannot be the cause of its own condition. But the principle which produces the brain and the whole system of physical nature must nevertheless be regarded as spiritual because it exhibits intelligence. It resembles consciousness in that it acts as if it deliberately adopted ends and selected the means to realize them. Spirit thus divorced from consciousness, may be identified with the " force " of physics. It explains the biological phenomena of growth and of intelligent, though unwitting, adaptation. So the Divine Principle is reduced into a mere hypothesis, not much different from the persistence of force expounded by Spencer. Its supposition was based on pragmatic considerations. The ethics of Spencer and Hartmann was too much for their metaphysics, and, therefore, a liaison was effected. When a writer like Hardy who read with avidity Mill in the sixties and was fairly closely acquainted with Leslie Stephen and his works came to synthesise his observations and analyse them to verify the hypothesis of Spencer or Hartmann, as well he might have done mentally, he failed to verify it. Unknown he has no doubt about. He calls it the " Unconscious," the Primal Being, the Absolute, an expression from the philosophy of Hegel,[2] the Will or " Immanent Will,"

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[1] " The After-Years of Thomas Hardy " by Florence Emily Hardy, Chap. X.

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[1] Hardy often evokes " Unconsciousness " not as an intelligent but blind force. It must be borne in mind that he was not attempting a reconciliation like Hartmann.

[2] The following excerpt will show the critical interest that Hardy had in Hegel's system. He cannot accept that the absolute is rational :

" May, 1887. Reading in the British Museum. Have been thinking over the dictum of Hegel—that the real is the rational and the rational the real—that real pain is compatible with a formal pleasure—that the idea is all, etc. ; but it does not help much. These venerable reminiscent of the " Will to Live " of Schopenhauer. He had no doubt about a force behind the Universe but he would not share the view of Hartmann [1] and call it divine or intelligent, rather he would accept the position of Schopenhauer and call it a virulent force intent on spinning man to his own ruination unless resisted and overcome. A metaphysical synthesis was never his objective nor his serious attempt. But he did capture the philosophical atmosphere of his time and gave various shades of meaning to the power behind the Universe. This attempt to read metaphysics and natural ethics in the knotty affairs of men resulted in a deterministic outlook on life. meaning by Determinism (*a*) inevitability due to the working of physical forces, including in this expression the physiological and psychological habits, (*b*) the presence of an Immanent Will or Unconsciousness which had not the attributes of intelligence imposed on it by Hartmann.

The Deterministic philosophy of Hardy finds confirmation in Haeckel (1834-1919). In his " Riddle of the Universe " (1899) he offered a solution of all metaphysical riddles in terms of two fundamental laws. Of these two great solvents the first was " the Law of Substance "—the fundamental law of the constancy of matter and force.[2] The second great solvent was " the Universal Law of Evolution," by which life emerges from psycho-chemical conditions, " psychoplasm " from protoplasm, and neuroplasm from psychoplasm. Life is the energetic aspect of protoplasm, unconscious mind of psychoplasm, and consciousness of the associative centres of the brain. The " Monism of Cosmos," which is established on these two basic principles, of substance and evolution, proclaims the absolute dominion of " the great eternal iron laws " throughout the universe. It thus shatters, at the same time, the three central dogmas of the dualistic philosophy—the Personality of God, the Immortality of the Soul, and the Freedom of the Will. Samuel Butler also discredits the meaningless use of God in his usual

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philosophers seem to start wrong; they cannot get away from a prepossession that the world must somehow have been made to be a comfortable place for man. If I remember, it was Comte who said that metaphysics was a mere sorry attempt to reconcile theology and physics." —" The Early Years of T. Hardy " by F. Emily Hardy, p. 234.

[1] Rutland quotes from Hartmann's " Philosophy of the Unconscious," Chap. XII, Pt. 3, to show that both Hardy and Hartmann believe in the devastating effect of love. Our point is that Hardy differred from Hartmann in his speculation about the ultimate nature of Reality, though he accepted much of Hartmann's philosophy of the Unconscious. See Rutland's " T. Hardy", p. 255.

[2] *Cf.* Spencer's " Principle of the Persistance of Force."

bantering tone "as long as there is an unknown there will be a God for all practical purposes; the name of God has never yet been given to a known thing except by way of flattery."[1] These opinions of Haeckel and Butler are also the philosophical views of Thomas Hardy.

There is one more problem which deserves consideration in a discussion of the philosophical aspect of Thomas Hardy's work and the influences that shaped it. It is the problem of human personality. He believes in a primal force and in the inexorable nature of the physical laws. In a mechanistic world the freedom of will is illusory and each personality is nothing but an efflorescence of the Will. He accepts the philosophical position of Schopenhauer who believed that the Will in the lowest stadium appears as mere matter, it rises much higher when an activity follows upon a stimulus. "Finally the Will objectifies itself in organisms that do not have to wait for the stimulus, but are motived by thought-objects."[2] These require brains in which the highest objectification of the Will presents itself. Thus human beings may be regarded as mere phenomena so far as their personality is concerned. But there is something real in them, too. They are, ultimately the manifestation of the Will. "The body is, on the one hand, my idea, so it is, on the other, my will; brain is the cognition of the Will, the genitals are the Will to procreate, etc."[3] This view, seemingly so mechanistic, finds a counterpart much later in Dr. Bosanquet who holds that "the individual, in the end, must be an adjective of the universe."[4] He is prepared to accept the self's transient existence ending in its absorption within the universe. Both Schopenhauer and Hardy find in Napoleon an illustration *par excellence* of the Will evolving in the course of its blind urge into a superman. "Something of Schopenhauer's apotheosis of Will," says Will Durant, "was due to that magnificent and bloody apparition of the will made flesh in the little Corsican; and something of his despair of life came from the pathetic distance of St. Helena."[5] It is in this conception of human personality that the most moving tragedy takes its birth. This was also the Greek notion of our individuality. Like Hardy they illustrated in the person of great heroic figures the influence of the blind powers that Schopenhauer called "Will." The collision of Greek tragedy is

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[1] "The Note Book of Samuel Butler" (1912), p. 325.
[2] Erdmann, "History of Modern Philosophy," Vol. II, p. 623.
[3] Erdmann, "History of Modern Philosophy," Vol. II, p. 624.
[4] J. E. Turner, "Personality and Reality," p. 101.
[5] Will Durant, "The Story of Philosophy," p. 326.

> "The dire strife
> Of poor Humanity's afflicted Will,
> Struggling in vain with ruthless destiny."

It was natural for a man with Hardy's cast of mind to turn to the Greek dramatists for inspiration.[1] Like Sophocles he delights in the conflict of laws, he was powerfully attracted by the ironies of fortune. In his plays Sophocles gave, like Hardy, an exposition of his Determinism.[2] There is little to choose between this and fatalism—the doctrine that nothing which the individual can do in any way affects the fate to which he is destined. Being a child of heredity and the urge of the blind will, he is at the mercy of chance. Determinism makes the factors which work out tragedy specific, however inexplicable in their nature some of these may be. On the other hand, Fatalism abjures all attempt at analysis. In the Greek plays we feel the presence of a super-human destiny brooding over the tragic character. It seems to take a malignant delight in the ruin of men and women we admire for their excellence. Antigone in her distress cries:

> "They mock me. Gods of Thebes! Why scorn you me
> Thus to my face,
> Alive, not death-stricken yet ?"[3]

The Chorus replies:

> "The cause
> Is some ancestral load, which thou art bearing."[4]

Another strand in Greek thought which we also discover in Hardy is the belief that fatal consequences follow the slightest warp or twist in the character of a flawless man or woman. In "Ajax" Mariner remarks:—

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[1] Hardy's fondness for Greek plays may be judged from the fact that he inquired of Moule who was a fine Greek scholar if he would not have to go on reading some Greek plays in the course of his training as an architect. To this Moule replied that if he had to make an income in some way by architecture in 1862, it could be hardly worth while for him to read Aeschylus or Sophocles in 1859-61. Hardy had secretly wished that Moule would advise him to go on with Greek plays. See "The Early Years of Thomas Hardy" by F. Emily Hardy, pp. 43-44.

[2] The Doctrine that all events are the inevitable result of antecedent conditions, and that the human being, in acts of apparent choice, is the mechanical expression of his heredity and past environment.—Will Durant.

[3] Sophocles, "Antigone" p. 26 (F.M.L.S.).

[4] Sophocles, "Ajax," p. 53 (E.M.L.S.).

> "Why will you grieve over what's past and done?
> It cannot now be altered, not to be."[1]

Both are vexed over the unhappy lot of man who is driven by an inexorable destiny and yet it is some human weakness that could have been resisted and was not and has, therefore, plunged the poor creature into misery and ruin.

"As the God wills, every man laughs and mourns." Tecmessa exclaims:—

> "O my Lord Ajax, in the ills of men
> There is none sorer than Necessity
>
> ……………………………………
>
> so the Gods willed it
> And thy right hand determined."[2]

An ironic fate leads Oedipus to kill his own father and marry his own mother; when the revelation comes to him he is thunderstruck and wishes that he might not have been saved alive and perished in the cruel gyve.

> "Not then had I become
> My father's murderer
> Nor wedded her I have my being from."[2]

This deterministic outlook on life, which made Hardy so pessimistic in his writing from 1870 to his death and drew him to seek inspiration from the Greek dramatists, can be traced back to the first half of the ninteenth century. A pessimistic wave sweeps over England and the continent and finds expression in Byron[3] in England, in De Musset in France, in Heine in Germany, in Leopaldi in Italy, in Pushkin and Lermoutof in Russia. It culminates in a profoundly pessimistic philosopher—Arthur Schopenhauer. In France it leads to the Catholic revival. From 1830 to 1848 there follows an extraordinary Anglomania. The French Romantic Movement (1830-50) is a search for stability and the ideal they look up to is sought in poets and writers and in politics in the constitution of Great Britain. But the intercourse so opened is not without repercussions in England. It gives impetus to religious revival in the form of Oxford Movement, and the political vision which the refugees brought with them produces a social fervour. The works of Dickens, Wilkie Collins, Disraeli and Thackeray bear witness to it. With her genius for compromise England does not surrender herself to extreme republican views in politics or Roman Catholicism in religion. The Church of England is, however, aroused to a sense of its inherent weakness, and seeks to effect a reconciliation between Science and Religion. Tennyson is the apostle of this compromise. His "In Memoriam" is a monument of the deep stirrings of the heart which seeks to find solace in faith when tormented by metaphysical problems of existence. Browning, though not of the Anglican Church, represses his doubts and difficulties and finds comfort in his creed of love. His "Grammarian's Funeral" betrays the stoicism of a man who, foiled in his expectations in this life, hopes for a better earth and better heaven in the life to come. From 1850 to 1860 England enjoys a period of comparative peace and religious and social tranquillity. Its philosophy is the philosophy of perfection, both positivism and utilitarianism hope for an evolution in which the human race would attain its full stature, the outlook is optimistic. The middle classes have asserted their rights and the aristocracy has shorn itself of some of its privileges to appease the growing discontent. The year 1848 which saw revolutions in France, Germany, Italy and Austria had no disquieting effect in Great Britain. It leaves its politics and people unruffled. And even on the continent the revolution exhausts its fury within a short time and the old order returns.

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[1] Sophocles, "Ajax," p. 56 (E.M.L.S.).

[2] Oedipus Tyrannus, p. 168 (E.M.L.S.).

[3] July 2, 1865: "Read some Horace; also Childe Harold and Lalla Rookh till past 12."—"The Early Years of T. Hardy" by Emily Hardy, p. 64.

FUTILITY OF COMPROMISE

"On Compromise," though published in 1874,[1] contains Morley's cogitations over radicalism in philosophy and politics for the last ten years. He was not satisfied with the stalemate of 1850-60. His political doctrine united the traditions of the philosophic Radicals and of the Manchester School. His articles of faith departed from the traditional Christian moulds. They were, briedy, trust in reason and in the reasonableness of mankind and a profound love of peace. The whole book is a sustained argument against compliance with the conventional standards when they conflict with one's inner convictions. So telling is the criticism of complacency, moral and religious, that a caustic critic remarked that except in the title he could find no trace of compromise in Morley's book. The anguish of soul which had been repressed so long now found expression in a writer whom a Blackburn paper described as a man who "has been occupying his time in writing a biographic panegyric of the Frenchman, Voltaire, the sceptic, cynic, and the infidel of the last century." He anticipates the stoicism of Arnold. But it was only a search for truth. The motto to the essay epitomises Morley's conviction: "It makes all the difference in the world whether we put truth in the first place or the second." It was a disciple of the great utilitarian, Mill, attacking the intutionist philosophy of the Oxford Movement and under arms against theology. He had written God with a small 'g.' But he was no cynic and scoffer like Voltaire. In "Recollections" he tells us that his essay was inspired by a desire to counteract that demoralising habit of accommodation which was so marked a character of Anglican Churchmen in high places who subscribed to the articles when they had lost all faith in them. Morley finds in Mill's pronouncement that it is "perfectly conceivable that religion may be morally useful without being intellectually sustainable," a misleading ambiguity, a veiled hypocrisy. To him morality was not confined to conduct, but extended to intelligence and even style. He remained, unlike Mill, to the end both a determinist and a perfectibilitarian. His philosophy like the latter-day philosophy of Hardy, was individualistic. But man, he believed, was subordinate to time, the past has cut the groove. "We are likely to forget," he wrote, "in our emphasis upon individuality that we are dependent upon our predecessors for our heritage." And hence he approved of Burke's respect for "the collective reason of mankind." How near does Morley come to Hardy? It would be interesting to note his reading list. His favourite authors were the Encyclopaedists, George Sand [1] (1804-76) George Eliot, Lucretius, Sophocles;

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[1] Morley had remarked as early as 1868 on reading "The Poor Man and the Lady" about its author: "If the man is young he has stuff and purpose in him."—"The Early year of T. Hardy" by F. E. Hardy, p. 77. Hardy had published "Desperate Remedies" (1871) and "Far from the Madding Crowd" (1874) containing his philosophy of life or purpose (as Morley termed it) before "On Compromise" came out.

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[1] George Sand, "Litra" (1833); "Jaques" (1834), an impassioned eulogy of individualism and [illegible] renunciation of trammels and falsehoods of philistine society.

Wordsworth, Goethe, Victor Hugo and Dante. The French influence which began with the outbreak of the French Revolution in 1789 is thus continued. The Catholic Revival[1] which influenced Newman to write " The Grammar of Assent " in 1870 was to find its counterpart in France in the Goncourts and Zola and in England in George Eliot, in Morley's " On Compromise," described as the " Grammar of Dissent," in Thomson, Hardy, Leslie Stephen, A. E. Housman, Arnold and Swinburne.

The undertones of the unrest which asserts itself after 1850, are to be found in the works of the Brontës: " Jane Eyre " by Charlotte Brontë was published in 1847 and the " Wuthering Heights " by Emily Brontë in 1842-48. They both depict the deepening gloom that comes over Jane Eyre, never in happy circumstances and Heathcliff, a gipsy waif of unknown parentage. The lives of the Brontës themselves have something tragic in their make-up. Theirs is not the spiritual peace which so many others seem to find in radiant faith. Another important novelist of the sixties makes her first appearance as a writer in 1854 with a translation of Teuerbach's " Essence of Christianity." This daughter of an Evangelist gradually drifts towards Positivism and ultimately joins George Henry Lewes in a voluntary union in 1859. This is a fateful year indeed. It is the closing of an old order and the beginning of a new. Dickens had published his masterpieces, Thackeray's last important work " Virginians " comes out this year and George Eliot's " Adam Bede," with a penetrating study of human nature focuses the public attention on her novels as her life had already done. In 1851 she had subscribed to the faith of Mr. Mackay " that divine revelation is not contained exclusively or pre-eminently in the facts and inspirations of any one age or nation, but is co-extensive with the history of human development . . . ."[2] She had arrived at the conclusion that meliorism was the best of creeds, if creed one must have: " Est ce que nous sommes faits pour chercher le bonheur ? Est ce la votre idée—dites moi." " Mais non—nous sommes faits, je pense, pour nous développer le plus possible."[3] This statement is inspired by and finds support in Comte who says: " Notre vraie destinée se compose de *resignation* et d'activité."

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[1] See " The Tractarian Movement " by Bishop E. A. Knox (1933), Chapter III (Oxford and France), pp. 47; 49, 50, 51, 52. *Cf.* " Religion in Victorian Era " by L. E. Elliott-Binns discussed by Bishop Knox. His third chapter " Oxford and France " is illuminating.

[2] George Eliot's Life by J. W. Cross, p. [illegible].

[3] George Eliot's Life by J. W. Cross, p. 141—Letter to Miss Sarah Hennell, 21st January, 1855.

Such in brief is the history of the silent development of her mind which gave her the courage to break away in a violent fashion from the centuries old tradition of marriage institution. She says: "From the majority of persons we never looked for anything but condemnation. We are leading no life of self-indulgence, except indeed that, being happy in each other, we find everything easy."[1] Like Morley she believes in living up to one's convictions, and like him she longs for a change in society to ensure greater liberty of action to individuals in their thoughts and actions. She held that "the progress of the world can certainly never come at all save by the modified action of the individual beings who compose the world."[2] This is also the attitude of Hardy[3]:

> "I say, not God Himself can make man's best
> Without best men to help Him."

(George Eliot—"Stradivarius")

Darwin published "On the Origin of Species" in 1859.[4] George Eliot's "The Mill on the Floss," conveying her psychological study of an over-wrought woman panting for love and embrace and dying in the most tragic circumstances, was made available to the public in 1861. The ferment that lay dormant for over a decade was now once again leavening thought. What with George Eliot's works, and the growing influence of Mill's "On Liberty,"[5] a book extremely popular in the 'sixties and the works of Spencer, Leslie Stephen, Reade and

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[1] George Eliot's Life by J. W. Cross, p. 170—Letter to Mrs. Bray, 4th September, 1855.

[2] George Eliot's Life by J. W. Cross, p. 533—Letter to Mrs. Ponsonby (now Lady Ponsonby), 10th December, 1874. One of the charges against Hardy is that he selects isolated and out-of-the-common cases for venting his spleen upon God and society. As a meliorist he cannot, as George Eliot puts it, ignore that the worst for human weal can only result from the perfection of individuals to whom Nature has been cruel or in whom it has implanted excessive cravings for sex gratification.

[3] In the first week of January, 1874, the story ("Far from the Madding Crowd") was noticed in a marked degree by the "Spectator," and a guess hazarded that it might be from the pen of George Eliot. Hardy conjectured as a possible reason for the flattering guess, that he had latterly been reading Comte's "Positive Philosophy" and writings of that school, some of whose expressions had thus passed into his vocabulary, expressions which were also common to George Eliot.—"The Early Years of T. Hardy" by Emily Hardy, p. 129.

[4] The same year was published "Richard Feveral" by Meredith.

[5] On July 1, 1868 he (Hardy) writes down—in all likelihood after a time of depression over his work and prospects:

"Cures for despair:
To read Wordsworth's 'Resolution and Independence.'
To read Stuart Mill's 'Individuality' (in 'On Liberty').
To read Carlyle's 'Jean Paul Richter'."—"The Early Years of T. Hardy" by Emily Hardy, p. 76.

Bradlaugh the tide turned and engulfed the tottering religions and social beliefs of the mid-Victorian period. In France Flaubert (1821-80) emphasized the need for bringing the totality of human experience into the novel. His "Madame Bovary" (1857) is a monumental work. Speaking of Baudelaire's (1821-69) "Les Fleurs du Mal" a critic remarked: "A severe and pitiless severity has entered into art as the last word in experience." This statement is equally true of Flaubert's "Madame Bovary." The Goncourts [Jules (1830-70) and Edmond de (1822-1896)] published "Renée Mauperin" in 1864. It gives a keen-eyed observation and accurate reproduction of even the trivialities of everyday life. In "Germinie Lacerteux" (1865) their naturalism is still more thorough-going. They produced in it an authoritative picture of manners and a cogent demonstration of the influence of environment upon the individual. Zola (1840-1902) set about after 1870 to display the whole panorama of the 19th century. He studied vices and crimes with faithful minuteness and focussed attention mainly on the more animal aspects of human nature. England was also awakening to this naturalistic view of life. What Lamarck had done in France Darwin did in England. He quickened the Naturalistic tendencies among the English writers of the seventies till they culminated in the work of Samuel Butler, "The Way of All Flesh," written in 1880 but published after his death. George Moore's "A Mummer's Wife" (1885) and "Esther Waters" (1894) were written distinctly under the influence of Naturalism. The first naturalistic novel in England is only ten years later than Zola's work. There is nothing strange about it. The Oxford Movement came after the Catholic Revival, Darwin after Lamarck, Mill after Comte, George Eliot after George Sand, and Butler after Zola. Just as the Goncourts form a bridge between Balzac and Zola, so does Hardy between the suppressed Naturalism of "The Mill on the Floss" and the works of George Moore. When the tide of Naturalism sweeps over England it has combined in itself the streams coming from France and Russia.

(To be Continued.)

PUSHTOO IN THE COLLEGE OF FORT WILLIAM

PRIYARANJAN SEN, M.A.
Calcutta University

WHEN the department of Indian Vernaculars (henceforth to be called Modern Indian Languages) was started under the Department of Post-Graduate Studies in the University of Calcutta in 1920, Pushtoo was recognised as a Basic language which it was necessary to study for a correct and thorough knowledge of the subject ; it was recognised as a Basic language along with Prakrit, Persian and Pali. It no doubt caused much amusement in lay critics of the University and one came across the remark sometimes that Pushtoo was necessary " to fill the quartet."

When the College of Fort William was formally opened in 1800 for the practical purpose of teaching the employees of the East India Company the languages and ideas of the countries they had to administer, some time had to pass before Pushtoo could be introduced into the College. The initial object soon extended into the theoretical, and we come across some correspondence about the work done on Pushtoo.

John Leyden, a noted orientalist, of the period, who was sometimes associated with the Examination work of the College of Fort William, and who offered to prepare a vocabulary in the Burman and Malay Languages corresponding to a vocabulary of some Indian languages already available, was requested to report on the Dictionary and Grammar of the Pushtoo language written by Nawab Moohubbub Khan. He thus writes his report to Doctor William Hunter, Secretary to the College Council, under date 12th October, 1810 :—

SIR,

I request you will do me the favor to forward to the College Council Muhabet Khan's Pushtoo Grammar and Dictionary, together with the transcript formed un[illegible] inspection and direction. Enclosure first/ No. 1/ with th[illegible] of the transcript amounting to Sa. Rs. 67. [illegible]

The transcript of this work has been formed by a laborious and minute collation of the copy furnished by Government with another in my possession formerly procured from the author. In collating these two copies I have found the variations considerably more numerous than could have been previously expected and in comparing these variations it did not appear that either of the copies could be considered as decidedly superior to the other. I have, therefore, in all cases of variation selected what appeared to be the preferable reading, and the transcript may now be considered as considerably more accurate than either of the copies from which it has been made. In the whole of this process I have had the assistance of Moonshee Amir Muhammad, who may be considered, I apprehend, as the best Pushtoo Scholar in India and has for upwards of two years has (*sic*) been engaged in the Composition of a Grammar and Dictionary of the Pushtoo language under my direction, on an improved plan, and from authentic written materials In consideration of the laborious part of the collation which has fallen to his share, I beg leave to submit to the College Council, whether some small gratuity might not with propriety be granted him.

With respect to the merits of Muhabet Khan's Work, I beg leave to state to the College Council, in answer to their letter of July 25th, that I consider it as a work of very considerable merit, and as a first work in the Pushtoo language, particularly valuable. As far as I have been able to discover Muhabet Khan is decidedly the first who has attempted to give a scientific Grammar and Dictionary of the Pushtoo language. As a first work in the language, the proper objects of comparison for his work are either the early Persian Loghats, previous to the Composition of the Ferhang Jehangiri, or the present Loghats of the different Turkish dialects current in the East, such as the Jughatai, and Turkman dialects.

To any of these which I have seen I consider the work of Muhabet Khan as very decidedly superior, though it is not entitled to be placed on a par with the more considerable native dictionaries of Persic or Arabic. The composition of the work in India is a circumstance which, though it rather enhances the merits of the author, detracts from those of the work, and by greatly increasing the difficulty of the execution has impaired the success that would otherwise have attended his labours.

With respect to the defects of the work, the principal one is that the author has more generally referred to the oral language of conversation than to the written language of books, and thus it sometimes happens that he has given an orthography which is rather auricular than conformable to the written and most generally approved standard of the Pushtoo Orthography. From the same cause it h [illegible] is more defective in poetical and other written [illegible] ore popular nature. Another defect is that the work is entirely employed on one of the two great Afghan dialects to the neglect of the other. The dialect to which his work refers is generally termed the *Serbanni*, and is current in Rohilcund, and applies best to the Afghan dialect which is used in the provinces of the English.

In compliance with the wishes of the College Council, I have thought it proper to state these circumstances minutely, but I beg leave to add that in my opinion they leave the merit of the author unimpaired, and it is only in a comparative point of view that they detract from the merits of the work. In abstract value I expect that it will be inferior to the work of Amir Muhammad when that is finished, but the spirited manner in which the work was undertaken on the suggestion of the British resident of Lucknow, and the zeal and ability with which the sketch was completed, for I know it did not receive the noble author's last hand, certainly entitled it to the distinguished notice of the Government.

As I thought it might be satisfactory to the College Council to have the opinion of a learned Afghan on the subject, I desired Amir Muhammad to write down a short note of what occurred to him respecting the merits and demerits of Muhabet Khan's work which I have enclosed (No. 2) and request that you will likewise do me the favor to submit to the College Council.

I am, etc.,

Oct. 6th, 1810. *Signed* JOHN LEYDEN [*]

Moonshee Amir Muhammad or Emir Moohummud, the Afghan Moonshee, received the gratuity which Dr. Leyden here recommended, as we find from another communication.[†] But it is more to our interest to learn that the College of Fort William did not consider Pushtoo altogether beyond the scope of its normal work. The administration of Rohilcund, in portions of which at least Pushtoo was spoken, was a charge on the British Government and the interest in the language was largely practical.

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[*] Public Consultation. Home Department Communication No. 22, dated 12th October, 1810.

[†] Public Correspondence. Home Department No. 21, dated 12th October, 1810

ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY OF SUMATRA

DR. KALIDAS NAG, M.A. (Cal.), D.LITT. (PARIS)

IN the history of Malaysia we find Java deservedly getting major attention. But thanks to the researches of anthropologists and pre-historians, we have come to discover the importance of Sumatra as well ; and we must remember in this connection the splendid services rendered by Edwin M. Loeb and Robert Heine-Geldern.*

Of the three old races found in Southern Asia the first, the Negrito, has not been found in Sumatra, being limited to certain zones of the Malay Peninsula, the Andamans and the Philippines. The second, the Veddoid people, are seldom found unmixed with races of other blood, the purest remnant so far traced being the Senoi or Central Sakai who may be connected with the Toala of Celebes, according to Sarasin. Traces of Veddoid blood could be found from the sources of Irrawaddy to south-west China according to Heine-Geldern. Kleiweg de Zwaan considers the Veddas of Ceylon to be the survivals of the pre-Dravidian races once occupying the whole of India. In Sumatra the more primitive Malaysians are pronouncedly Veddoid. They represent the pre-agricultural economy using bows and arrows, wearing tapa cloth but lacking pottery, metal-work and weaving.

The third race, the Malaysians or Austronesians, are believed by Heine-Geldern to have migrated from south China after 2000 B.C. Those who are relatively free from racial mixtures are called proto-Malaysians dwelling in the Island like the Bataks, the Dayaks (Borneo), the Toradja (Celebes) and the Igorot (Philippines). The mixed Malays are best represented by the modern Javanese and are mainly coast-dwellers. They brought tropical plants, sugarcane. banana, [illegible] especially rice or *berus*, meaning fruit or food. According to [illegible] their language contains both the words for boat and sail and [illegible]-Geldern holds the opinion that they had some form of outrigger [illegible]e. Thus these Indonesians probably knew both river-craft and [illegible]an-craft which enabled them to explore the Pacific. On archaeological and ethnographic grounds Heine-Geldern has attributed the following traits to the primitive Indonesians: non-coiled pottery, mats, bone-lance points, bone tools and arrows, stone and mussel rings (as coins or decorations), stone-beads, pile-dwellings, megalithic monuments, head-hunting, cultivation of rice and millet and the possible use of tapa cloth (in common with the Polynesians).

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* "Sumatra : Its History and Peo[illegible] by Edwin M. [illegible]: "The Archaeology and Art of Sumatra" by Robert Heine-Gelder[illegible] : Published by Verlag Des [illegible]s Für Völkerkunde, University of Vienna (1935).

According to Loeb, the Indonesian social organization was similar in form to that of the Negrito and the Veddoid folks which ignored the "unilateral descent and the accompanying exogamy." Autocratic kingship was absent. The divine descent of chiefs is a Polynesian concept prevailing partially among the chiefs of Nias. Summing up the problem of the races and cultures of Sumatra, Loeb observes that "wave after wave of cultural influence had swept over the island from the direction of India, bringing certain of the groups to a high state of civilization." The primitive Malaysians of the Peninsula, so far as we could judge by the Jakun tribes, refused to assimilate any culture from India, pre-Hindu or Hindu. They had no system of sacrificial feasts but they evolved some kind of pottery of neolithic origin though this art was unfavourable. With the advent of further Malaysian settlers from the mainland, the Negritos were exterminated and the Veddoids pushed back into the more barren parts of the island. Among the earliest traits of culture received by the Malaysians of Sumatra we find pile-houses, outrigger canoe, sail-boat, taro, yam and sago and domestication of pigs and chicken. Many of these things will migrate from Malaysia and Indonesia to far-off Polynesia, supporting thereby the theory that many important items of Polynesian culture could be traced back to the region extending from Indo-China to Sumatra and Java. The most common feature is the "men's house" which grew out of pile architecture. The people divided their villages into several hamlets each under its own leaders. They learnt the dry cultivation of rice and domesticated the buffalo and possibly evolved iron-working, before the intrusion of Hindu c[illegible] towards the beginning of the Christian era.

The Hindus suppressed head-hunting and megalithic cults introducing a different variety of stone-work and more refined cultures as could be gathered from the religion and the soul-concept (*tondi*) of the Bataks, wet-rice culture and the plough, cotton and the spinning wheel together with the higher Hindu concepts of religion and life which enabled the primitive Malaysians to develop their crude villages and hamlets into vast commercial and cultural empires. The Malayans like the Hindus were a composite of all races and could march ahead with the time while the Mentawei islanders which refused to admit strangers in marriage remained in a most backward state like the Kabu and allied people of Sumatra. The Mentawei has annual sacrifice and augury but lacks the ideas of higher gods, creation and shamanism which came with Hindu culture, and in this connection we quote the following significant remark of Loeb: "The Bataks and the people of Nias have derived practically all of their more advanced forms of religious beliefs from India, for the most part in post-Hindu times. Certain of these higher forms of beliefs, cults and philosophies have traversed Indonesia and have passed into Polynesia, and perhaps even, as some ethnologists believe, into the New World." One significant difference lies in this that in Indonesia the important factor in religion is *tondi* or soul-concept while in Melanesia and Polynesia it is *mana* or supernatural power.

While in Java, the land of the Pithecanthropus Erectus, human skeletal remains of the early palæolithic period have been found, no such discoveries have been made so far in Sumatra. Heine-Geldern, however, has classified (culturally if not chronologically) the late palæolithic tools as belonging to a Flake-culture and a Hand-Axe culture. So far the traces of the Flake-culture have only been discovered in two caves of central Sumatra. These have been connected with the Flake-cultures of Ceylon and of the caves in south-west Celebes, belonging to the late palæolithic age.

Traces of Hand-Axe culture were found in many places in the northern part of the east coast of Sumatra. These stone tools are different from the old palæolithic Hand-Axes of Europe and India, being worked almost without exception on one side only. The Hand-Axe culture of Sumatra is now admitted to be "related to the Hoabinhien [illegible] early Bacsonien of north-eastern Indo-China and the Hand-Axe [illegible]s of Siam and the Malay Peninsula." And from this analogy [illegible]-Geldern considers it probable that the bearers of the Sumatran [illegible]-Axe culture belonged to the group of Papua-Melanesoid races and [illegible] they may have been followed by primitive Malaysian peoples who transmitted the earlier neolithic or later proto-neolithic tools with rough ground edges and rubble-axes. The late palæolithic Flake-culture, on the contrary, were probably introduced by people of Veddoid origin.

The late Neolithic culture is represented, both in Sumatra and in the Nias island, by quadrangular adzes which were probably brought by the Malayo-Polynesians (Austronesians) to Malay Peninsula and Indonesia by way of China, Laos and Siam between 2000 and 1500 B.C. With these we also find beaked adzes, stone sawing, megalithic monuments, ancestral figures, head-hunting, rice-cultivation, domestication of cattle and the outrigger canoe. This Neolithic culture is the same in Java and Sumatra both showing preference for semiprecious stones and refinement in stone-cutting which reflected a keen sense of beauty as well as perfection in craftsmanship.

MEGALITHIC ART OF THE NIAS ISLAND AND OF SOUTH SUMATRA

The quadrangular adze culture is closely connected with the megalithic system and it still survives, according to Heine-Geldern, in many regions of Further India and Indonesia, specially among the mountain tribes of Assam and of north Luzon (Philippines) and in the island of Nias. Connected as it is with ancestral cults and magic, this art is predominantly plastic and monumental with symbolical reliefs and statues of the deceased, etc., which play an important part in the megalithic style of south-east Asia. The sculptural reliefs decorating some of the stairs in southern Nias are considered to be the most beautiful creation of Indonesian architecture. The people of south Nias showed a remarkable preference for stone reliefs as, for example, in the scene where four monkeys are catching a shark. In central and north Nias we find stone monuments to be more and more rare. Many stone sculptures like the conventionalised figures of stags and horn-bills appear to be copies from wooden models and Nias is specially rich in wood-carving of ancestral and guardian figures, mostly naked though wearing ornaments. Many of these figures holding cups with both hands remind us of the beaker statues, of eastern Europe, Siberia and Central Asia.

The wooden architecture of the houses of the chiefs appears to strive after creating the imposing architectonic forms of the megalithic art of southern Nias. This pre-Hindu megalithic art came to be influenced later on by the Indian and Javanese motifs.

In south-west Sumatra on the plateau of Pasemah have been discovered a very important [illegible]up of megalithic monument—menhirs, dolmens, cist-gra[illegible]s. But unlike the art of Nias which is pr[illegible] the sculptures of Pasemah in the rendering of the physical world, display a wonderfully dynamic conception. The native racial tribes are rendered in a naturalistic style which, through an exaggeration of movement and passion, look like caricatures. In carving the images these south Sumatran sculptors utilise as far as possible the natural form of the stone medium. Fragments of paintings (in black, white, red and yellow) found on the inner walls of the cist-graves display the same violent movements as of the stone sculptures. These Pasemah monuments has been linked by Van der Hoop with the late bronze culture unearthed near Dong-Son, in Annam, which may be dated between 600 to 300 B.C., when this bronze culture began to penetrate Sumatra and south-east Asia from the north.

Sumatra, China and India

According to Heine-Geldern the Pasemah sculptures do not belong to the megalithic culture which reached Indonesia in the late neolithic age and that they are related to the Chinese sculptural art of the early Han period. Both the sculptures and the paintings remind us of the decorations of the tombs of the Han period ; and most possibly the Pasemah art like the art of the Batak would be found on deeper analysis to be composed of heterogeneous elements of the different epochs. Heine-Geldern has characterised the three chief stylistic strata as (1) the old megalithic symbolic style, (2) the bronze age style of Dong-son (*circa* 300 B.C.), and (3) the Hindu Sumatran style following the Dong-son and the Han epochs. Specially in the art of the Bataks we find Indian influence becoming more and more pronounced : elephant (gadja), horned-lion (singa), as in Pallava art, Indian magical and astrological figures in the Batak books of divination with figures of Banaspati, Rahu, etc. Lastly we must mention the representation of ~~the~~ Kalmashapada-Sutasoma Jataka which the Batak, like their Burmese and Shan neighbours, use in two variants.

Thus we see that even at this infancy of Sumatran archaeology we have remarkable documents to illustrate the transition from the late neolithic to the bronze age culture and thence to the Indian and Indo-Javanese phases. About 300 B.C., Sumatra received the late bronze and early Iron age Dong-son culture; socketed bronze-celts, drums, daggers, lances and f [illegible] was brought to Sumatra probably by merch [illegible] China and north-east Indo-China. A later phase of this culture shows the stone cist-graves and the Pasemah sculptures closely related to the art of the early Han period (3rd century B.C.).

From the beginning of the Christian era to the 14th century A.D., the Hindu-Sumatran culture flourished under the influence of Hindu colonists and missionaries, both Brahman and Buddhistic, from Burma and Siam, Cambodia and Java.

Sumatra was not only colonised by the Hindus but, through more than a thousand years of close connection, it became an integral part of Greater Indian culture zone: the Pallava influences in the 7th century, the Chola domination of the 11th century, together with other intrusions from the Tamil and the Kerala regions signify South Indian contributions. Dravidian tribal names are still to be found among the Bataks, who, however, follow the father-right economy as against the mother-right of the Minangkabau. So far as North India is concerned we should remember the close connection of Buddhistic and Tantric cultures of Eastern India and Srivijaya: the relation of the Sailendras with the Pala empire and Nalanda, with Nepal and Tibet, all collaborating to develop the extreme Tantric Kāla-chakrayāna combining Buddhistic with Saivite elements, during the reign of Kṛtanagara, Maulivarman and Adityavarman.

The earliest Hindu-Sumatran stone image of Buddha found near Palembang has been considered by Prof. Krom to be influenced by the Amaravati School. Other remains found at Palembang and Djambi have been attributed to the 5th century A.D., nearly 200 years before the foundation of the Srivijaya empire (7th century A.D.) which readily came under the influence of Pallava art. A stone torso and the life-sized statue of Avalokitesvara bear the impress of 7th century Pallava art. It is interesting to note in this connection that in the four inscriptions, in Pallava script of the 7th century A.D., found in Sumatra and Bangka, we find Sanskrit words interspersed with old Malay idiom. The Sailendra dynasty of Srivijaya contributed greatly to the propagation of Mahayana in Indonesia and Malay Peninsula. Two Buddhist statues from Djambi show clear affiliation with the Gupta art of 7th century A.D. Three charming bronze images of Buddha, Avalokitesvara and Maitreya, found in the Komering river near Palembang, show the style of central Java (8th-10th centuries). In this period central Javanese influence is traced also in some architectural remains, and in Saivite sculptures. Lokanatha with two Taras, in a bronze group, dated 1024 A.D., is found in the Batak territory of Padaung Lawas. According to Dr. Bosch the Hindu-Sumatran architecture had a special preference for brick construction interspersed with stone sculptures and brick reliefs; and from the Nagari inscriptions these brick structures are attributed to 12th century A.D. Gradually the Tantric cults and degenerate Mahayana were overwhelmed by Batak cannibalism, with the worship of Heruka and the cult of human flesh and blood as we find from the inscriptions of king Adityavarman who died towards the end of the 14th century.

News and Views

[A monthly record of News and Views relating to Cultural and Academic Institutions, Events and Movements in India and Abroad.]

Indian Educationists Meet in Lucknow

The 15th session of the Indian Educational Conference commenced on 27th December, 1939, in the Baradar Hall, Lucknow. About 500 delegates attended. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru inaugurated the conference and Sir S. Radhakrishnan presided.

Inaugurating the Conference, Pandit Nehru said that the idea of education had long been the improvement of the individual. But even that care of the individual must to-day be considered in terms of the mass of the people or else the enlightened individual will be submerged in the unenlightened mass. Can an individual, he asked, truly advance, except in the rarest cases, if the environment that surrounds him is pulling him back all the time? This environment consists of inherited ideas, prejudices and superstition which restrict the mind and prevent growth and change in a changing world. He made a strong plea for changing the environment.

He deplored the present-day social fabric which he regarded as decadent.

Pandit Nehru dealt at length with the condition of the "millions of unhappy, sorrow-laden people with sunken eyes and hopeless outlook." Yet he had always sensed "the tremendous vitality of our people and felt confident that they would pull themselves out of this miserable condition and recover the bright and happy and hopeful eyes that should be the birthright of every individual."

Concluding, he said that it was pleasant for intellectual and enlightened people to discuss calmly the affairs of a troubled and distant world "but reality was upon us" and the troubled world was no longer distant but threatened to envelop and overwhelm them. "The world is unpleasant; let us realize it and then, like men, seek to change it and make it a pleasanter, juster place for all of us to live in."

It was impossible to displace English by a *lingua franca* for some time to come because of its unifying value to India, declared Dr. Rai Rajeshwar Bali, chairman of the Reception Committee of the Conference in the course of his address.

While recognizing that a *lingua franca* was essential in the larger national interests, Dr. Bali pointed out that no province could afford to lose its provincial language. He then proposed Sir S. Radhakrishnan to the Chair.

The need for a national scheme for education in India was stressed by Sir S. Radhakrishnan in his address.

There was nothing national in education declared Sir Sarvapalli. The different countries were provinces of a common republic of culture. There was no such thing as proletarian mathematics, Nazi chemistry or Jewish physics. But, he pointed out, it was quite possible to impart through education a definite bias for developing a particular type of human individual.

Technical Education for Muslims

The need for higher technical education for Muslims was stressed by Dr. Sir Shah Muhammad Sulaiman, Judge of the Federal Court and Vice-Chancellor of the Aligarh Moslem University, at a public meeting held in the pandal of the All-India Moslem Educational Conference.

Recalling the history of the activities in connexion with technical education at the Moslem University, Aligarh, Sir Shah Sulaiman said that India was on the threshold of great economic and industrial development, and it was the duty of the Aligarh University to take its proper place in this progress. There was, he added, an ever-increasing demand for technical education and hence facilities for such training for Moslem young men should be provided for.

"We must" the speaker declared, keep pace with the other advanced communities or go down. If we are to exist, we must march forward along with the rest of India."

Student Movement in India

About 500 delegates from different provinces and 4,000 visitors were present at the fifth annual session of the All-India Students' Federation convention under the presidentship of Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose.

The Chairman of the Reception Committee, welcoming the President and delegates, referred to the tendency on the part of many of them to make the Students' Federation an arena to fight our factional rivalries and deplored that their time should be wasted in party bickerings. He suggested a twofold programme to strengthen the student movement which was still in its infancy in India.

Firstly, they must take up questions affecting the average students and agitate for fulfilment of their demands through the Students' Federation. It was also advisable to organise study circles in schools and colleges with a view to creating political consciousness among students.

Secondly, they must also engage themselves in the uplift of the masses. It was their duty to carry the message of literacy to the masses.

He suggested that the Federation should constitute a permanent committee to co-ordinate the work of adult literacy in progress in different provinces. He advised the students to talk less of politics and take up seriously the work of strengthening their organisation.

Congress Research Library

Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Congress President, has issued an appeal to publishers and authors asking them to help the Congress by donating their publications and books to the All-India Congress Committee Research Library, as limited financial resources of the Committee precluded it from making large-scale purchases.

Education of the Deaf

The Psychology Section of the Convention of the Teachers of the Deaf in India which met with Prof. M. N. Banerji, M.Sc., B.L., of the University

College of Science, Calcutta, in Chair was well attended by the delegates and visitors. Prof. H. P. Maiti's paper, "A project of research work at the Calcutta Deaf and Dumb School," roused a good deal of interest. Prof. Maiti described the research project bearing on the life and education of the deaf introduced by the authorities of the Calcutta School at his suggestion. He emphasised the importance of formulating suitable intelligence tests for the deaf-mute and discussed the difficulties peculiar to that problem. A short report of the investigation so far done by him in collaboration with some of the teachers of the Calcutta Deaf and Dumb School was presented.

A highly interesting paper entitled " A study of babe up to the third month of its life " was read by Mr. A. C. Sen of the Calcutta Deaf and Dumb School.

Importance of vocational guidance in case of the deaf-mute was pointed by Mr. S. K. Bose of the Psychology Department of the Calcutta University. He pleaded that some of the tests could be applied before a particular course of vocational training was recommended to a deaf-mute on his admission in the school.

In his presidential address Prof. Banerji dwelt on the history of vocational guidance movement in the West as well as in India. discussed the technique of testing and expressed the desire that the performance and special ability tests should be made use of by the teachers of the deaf and dumb schools.

Miscellany

THE EUROPEAN WAR AND THE AMERICAN MARKETS

War in Europe resulted in abrupt price changes and sharp increases in activity in the commodity and financial markets of the United States, says the *Federal Reserve Bulletin* (October, 1939).

Prices of basic commodities advanced in September, reflecting chiefly heavy purchases by manufacturers and distributors but to some extent also speculative activity of traders. Buying was particularly marked for such products as iron and steel, non-ferrous metals, and textiles, and was largely by domestic purchasers in anticipation of possible price advances and delayed deliveries. Inquiries from abroad, particularly from neutrals, showed a marked increase in some lines, but in others the prospect for exports was adversely affected. In a number of industries new orders were sufficient to bring about an accelerated increase in plant operations. This rise, coupled with increased oil output after sharp curtailment in August, carried the Board's index of industrial production from 102 for the month of August to about 110 for the month of September, with a still higher level prevailing at the end of the month. Employment and national income increased substantially but, as is usual, expanded less rapidly than industrial activity.

Prices of many common stocks rose rapidly in September, while prices of United States Government securities and high-grade corporate bonds, which had reached record levels in the early part of the summer and had receded somewhat from those levels, declined sharply. The Federal Reserve System, in pursuance of its policy of endeavouring to maintain orderly conditions in the capital markets, increased its holdings of United States Government obligations.

At no time was the shock of the war to the American financial and industrial system comparable to that in 1914 when the Stock Exchange and many commodity exchanges were forced to close, large currency withdrawals and gold exports obliged banks to operate on a restricted basis, and business activity declined. During the past month exchanges remained open, bank deposits and reserves increased, and commodity prices and business activity advanced sharply. Gold continued to flow into the United States in large volume until late in the month. Dollar prices of many foreign currencies showed sharp reductions.

Benoy Kumar Sarkar

RAILWAY PLANNING IN FRANCE

According to reports from France it is positively a commonplace to state that the French railways have been giving admirable proof of the perfection of their organisation. The moving of countless troop trains has been carried out with the best possible regularity, concurrently with the evacuation of a large number of civilians, leaving the larger cities for the country. Not that this has created any surprise, for due note had been taken of the perfect order that prevailed consistently with regard to the holiday-makers ' trains. The traffic in connection with holiday camps for boys and girls and for the "paid holidays" crowd lays an extraordinary burden upon all the railway companies. It is noteworthy that their time tables should have been regularly adhered to, accidents avoided, and the staff found so adaptable to such unusual conditions in a period of so intense a traffic.

French experts believe that the public are able to come to these encouraging conclusions, but they are practically unaware of the amount of hard work and methodical thought required in order to ensure the proper operation of the formidable mechanism constituted by the railway system of a large country. The achievement of the National Company of French Railways, the first results of which are now public property, justifies certain favourable conclusions, after more than a year's experience. This is made clear, indeed, by a careful perusal of the Report laid a few weeks ago by the Board of Management of the National Company of French Railways before their yearly general meeting.

In order to justify the creation of that Company whose aim was to harmonise the technique of the various railway systems and make them more independent it is not amiss to quote a few figures, say, the reports giving some idea of their joint importance, or rather of the importance of what is now the French railway system. That system comprises 80,000 kilometres of permanent way (1 km.=5/8 mile), with 13,000 stations and relevant establishments. The rolling stock in use on the various lines includes 19,600 locomotives, 900 "autorails," 34,000 railway carriages and 511,000 wagons. This plant is used by 22 billion passenger-kilometres and 31 billion ton-kilometres. In other words, were the whole of this traffic divided up among all Frenchmen, it would be found that each of the 40,000,000 persons has travelled at least once in the course of the year from Paris to Morlaix in Brittany, or from Dijon in Burgundy to Sete in Languedoc, and sent off 100 parcels weighing ten kilos over a distance of 775 kilometres.

It will easily be understood that the National Company of French Railways is a matchless customer for the national economy. For instance, it consumes, year in, year out, 11 million tons of coal, 860 million kilowatt-hours, 225,000 tons of iron and steel, 240 tons of fish-plates, nuts and sleeper-acres, 45,000 cubic metres of sleepers, 6 million tons of ballast and paving-stones, 2,400,000 square metres of linen and cloth, 1,400,000 electric bulbs, etc. Added to this, the National Company gives employment to about 3 million people—engineers, railwaymen, operatives, employees and their families—whether directly in its employ or working to supply its needs in mines, factories, or for the conveyance of goods, mails, etc.

Taking into consideration this impressive enumeration, the need for close co-ordination and "unity of command," as the current phrase has it, will easily be realised. Since the building of railways in France, the number of Companies has been steadily decreasing for the last fifty years; there have been incorporations, mergers, and associations resulting in the survival of six Companies only, so that the unification resorted to in January, 1938, had long been foreseen. Of course the users of the railway have suffered no alterations of a nature to interfere with their habits. The management have been careful not to introduce hasty reforms or changes. And yet very useful transformations have been carried out, and others are being proceeded with in a methodical, scientific and perfectly smooth way, all directed towards efficiency, while lightening the burden cast upon the

State by the railways. Considerable advances have been effected as regards both the quality of the plant and the methods of operation.

Nor have the new management been content with undertaking reforms of an actually material nature ; measures of simplification and economy are also being considered which call for a thorough knowledge of the relevant itineraries. For instance, consignments from Lyons to Bordeaux are now sent for the most part *via* the Rhone Valley, the Languedoc plain and the valley of the Garonne, so as to avoid the slow and difficult hilly country of the Massif Central, which uses up a lot of driving power. For passenger trains the lines so far electrified are used as much as possible. The passenger traffic between Paris and Nantes has been transferred to the Le Mans line, while that of the thermal stations of the Massif Central to the Paris-Vierzon line. Useful improvements have been effected in the conveyance of goods, both as regards promptness of delivery and uniformity of charges.

What should be borne in mind is that all this transformation was carried out during the depression, and that in spite of this the financial results are already more satisfactory than of yore. In 1937, the expenses incurred in working the lines amounted to 14,888,000,000 and the receipts to 12,850,000,000 francs, leaving a deficit of 2,038 millions, or 15·86 % of the receipts. In 1938 the deficit was cut down to 1,970 millions, in spite of the fact that the industrial depression had brought about a loss of traffic of 17%, a fact without a parallel in former depressions. Be it noted, moreover, that the value of the franc in 1937 and in 1938 was not the same, for the average exchange rate of the pound sterling was about 124 francs in 1937 and 171 in 1938. Had the franc not been devalorised in 1938, the deficit experienced in working the railways would have been very appreciably less than in 1937.

The above perhaps somewhat optimistic considerations are borne out by the results of the current year. Adequately comprehensive figures are not yet available, but going by those for one week in May, one in June and in July there has been a general advance, both in the matter of receipts and in that of the traffic. From May 21 to May 27, for instance, the receipts have progressed by as much as 82,217,030 francs (*i.e.*, by 36·38%) as compared with the corresponding week in 1938, while the takings per kilometre have risen from 5,761 to 7,857 francs. Similarly, from June 18 to June 24, the receipts show an advance of 39,442,000 francs. From January 1 to June 3, the difference in takings works out to the advantage of 1939 over 1938, the percentage at the beginning of January being 9·86 and at the beginning of June 10·71.

The rôle of rationalization and planning in railway management is, therefore, to be treated by all means as a very prominent item in the French economy of today.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

WORKERS' NUTRITION AND SOCIAL POLICY

In co-operation with the International Institute of Agriculture (Rome) and the Health and Economic Sections of the League of Nations the nutrition problem of the masses was investigated by the International Labour Office (Geneva) during 1935-36. The Report of the investigations has been published as *Workers' Nutrition and Social Policy* (1936). The discussions cover such topics as nutrition *vis-à-vis* occupation from the physiological standpoint. As there are vague ideas in regard to this question among economists and sociologists throughout the world this publication will be of considerable use to them. An appendix dealing with the physiological bases of nutrition reproduces the findings of the Technical Committee of the League of Nations in their meeting in London in November, 1935. The so-called London standard of calories is indicated here. From the standpoint of nutrition politics the labour leaders as well as the students of social legislation will appreciate the appendix dealing with the historical survey leading up to the Labour Conference of the American States which held their meeting at Santiago, Chile, in January, 1936. At that meeting, the I. L. O. was requested to encourage the inauguration of wage policies in keeping with the cost of ration for 3,000 calories.

The greatest importance is to be attached to the finding that malnutrition is a world-reality. Even in the richest countries of the world the agricultural classes as well as industrial workers have been living at a diet which is considerably below the minimum physiological requirement. For instance, British experts have found that in England in certain classes the deficit in calories is sometimes as high as 1,110 to 1,795.

In case deficiency in nutrition be treated as equivalent to absence of economic optimum, *i.e.*, identical with over-population, not even the British Isles, which are alleged to be facing depopulation according to Kuczynski and others can prove to the physiologists that they are not over-populated. The subjects of demographic optimum and over-population, under-population, etc., require indeed to be discussed on novel foundations in the light of food and nutrition economics. The data offered by the present publication should be a warning to the Indian calorie-researchers and overpopulation-experts and counsel them to practise caution while talking glibly of the already over-populated condition of India and formulating the correct demographic policy. Altogether, it is to be appraised as a work of capital importance for workers in demography, sociology and economics.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

HEREDITY AND POLITICS

A substantial contribution to political eugenics has been made by J. B. S. Haldane in *Heredity and Politics* (London, 1938). In regard to the heredity of diseases Haldane's conclusions, cautious as they are, may be given as follows: 1. It is possible (scientifically) to construct pedigrees (heredity) of eye-diseases; 2. Exact diagnosis is uncertain with regard to heart diseases and their pedigrees ; 3. Classification is still more uncertain in the field of brain diseases.; 4. Even in the case of blindness it is not possible to say definitely about heredity. In some cases it is heredity, in others it is not; sometimes it is inherited in a relatively simple manner and sometimes in a very complicated manner.

Eugenic legislation as suggested by him would comprise the following measures: 1. Prohibition or discouragement of marriages between first cousins (as done by Roman Catholicism); 2. Dissolution, voluntary or compulsory, of the marriage that has produced one recessive child ; 3. Sterilization of one partner in marriages as indicated in No. 2. The prescriptions thus are not radical.

The problem of the heredity or pedigree of moral defects is considered by Haldane to be much too complicated. "It is never possible," says he, "from a knowledge of a person's parents to predict with certainty that he or she will be either a more adequate or less adequate member of society than the majority" (p. 87). The attitude is liberal verging perhaps on conservatism.

As for positive eugenics Haldane's ideas are what may be called socialistic. He believes that as a means of producing more "great men" equality of opportunity is more likely to be of immediate value (p. 123) than entelegenesis (the procreation of a particularly gifted man by artificial insemination). Inheritance of wealth is considered by him to be "eugenically undesirable because it tends to make the well-to-do limit their families." In his judgment a consideration of human biology does not justify the perpetuation of class-distinctions.

He is sceptical about the existence of special *genes* (found in the nucleus of each cell which contains *chromosomes*) adapted to or generative of special cultural features. The alleged raciological determination or interpretation of culture—the so-called ethnical or "racial basis" of civilization cannot claim Haldane as an exponent. "The genes needed for cultural achievement, if they exist," says he, "are almost certainly different from those for hair shape and skin colour" (p. 163).

In all these discussions Haldane, the biologist, has been confirming and continuing on a positive basis the liberalism and socialistic anti-eugenicism of the philosopher and sociologist, Hobhouse, as embodied in *Social Evolution and Political Theory* (1911). Hundred per cent. eugenicism or ultra-biologicism has failed to establish its hegemony in the world of science.*

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT IN PALESTINE

The review, *Palestine and the Middle East,* has published in its issue No. 6, 1939, an analysis of the latest report of *Hamashbir Hamerkazi* (Palestine Co-operative Wholesale Society).

The focussing of public interest on the question of supplies during a war makes topical reading of the latest report of the *Hamashbir Hamerkazi*, the largest individual trading organization in the country. During the crisis in the political and economic life of Palestine this co-operative organisation was able not only to maintain its activity but to develop and enlarge it.

Trading conditions in 1938, the *Hamashbir* Report notes, were characterised by abnormal fluctuations, reaching a climax with the September crisis. With the general rush to lay in supplies prices rocketed sky-high, increases of as much as 50 per cent. and more being registered in many commodities. In the test of this unprecedented crisis in normal commerce, the Report points out, *Hamashbir* was able to exert a steadying influence, demonstrating the advantages and potentialities of a publicly controlled trading organisation. It maintained its prices at a steady level, supplied all the requirements of its clients and made arrangements to ensure for them essential supplies for several months ahead. It may be of interest to note that during the crisis several importers applied to *Hamashbir* to arrange for their supplies and that furthermore a group of private retailers suggested that *Hamashbir* should act for them as their wholesale supplier and thus free them from the hold of speculative merchants.

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* B. K. Sarkar : *Political Philosophies since 1905*, Vol. I (Madras), pp. 118-19, 272-73.

Hamashbir's turnover in 1938 continued the uninterrupted upward trend noted since the company's reorganisation in 1931. In the course of the last seven years the *Hamashbir's* turnover has increased sevenfold (from LP. 64,484 to LP. 436,949).

Hamashbir's main business is connected with the wholesale purchase for the affiliated agricultural settlements of their supplies of foodstuffs, fodders, seeds, fertilisers, machinery, fuel, etc. At the same time *Hamashbir* acts for these settlements as the marketing agency through which they dispose of their grain and other field products not handled by the *Tnuva* Co-operative Marketing Organisation (specialising in dairy produce, vegetables, fruits, etc.). *Hamashbir* also functions as the central supply agency for various institutions, such as hospitals, agricultural schools, transport co-operatives, building contracting offices, co-operative restaurants, etc.

Hamashbir not only rendered assistance to already established industries, but also helped to stimulate the development of certain new lines of manufacture such as equipment for bee-keeping and poultry-farming and irrigation appliances produced in the workshops of several communal settlements.

An interesting development this year has been the start made by *Hamashbir* in the export of Palestine produce to the United States.

On the supply side *Hamashbir*, as in previous years, provided the labour settlements with most of their requirements of outside chicken-feed and dairy-fodder such as *durrah* (a popular indigenous summer crop not usually grown in Jewish settlements), barley, maize, bran (from Jewish mills), oilcakes (from Shemen Ltd.), etc.

Seeds, chemicals and fertilisers were provided to the settlements through *Hamashbir's* special Seed and Chemical Department set up in 1937. Advance is recorded in local seed-growing for which there are encouraging prospects. *Hamashbir* has been marketing increasing quantities of local vegetable, forage and other seeds grown in the Jewish settlements with the advice of the Seed-Growers' Association and the Seed-Growing Department of the Jewish Agency Agricultural Experimental Station.

Hamashbir served in 1938 as a wholesale supply and marketing agency not only for its members proper but altogether for 273 co-operative societies, organisations and labour institutions (232 in 1937): 54 communal settlements, 75 co-operative labour groups, 10 co-operative agricultural producers' societies, 57 co-operative consumers' societies, 17 settlements still unorganised into co-operative societies of their own, 20 agricultural schools, experimental stations and girls' training farms, 21 various labour and national institutions including hospitals, building contracting offices, etc., 16 transport co-operatives, 3 co-operative restaurants.

Labour agricultural settlement accounted in 1938 for 44 per cent. of the *Hamashbir* turnover, co-operative consumers' societies accounted for 24 per cent.

There has been a further development of *Hamashbir's* connections with the international co-operative movement and in particular with the co-operative Wholesale Society of Great Britain through which *Hamashbir* in 1938 made purchases totalling LP. 53,181 as compared with LP. 34,437 in the previous year.—*Co-operative Information.*

Benoy Kumar Sarkar

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[1] See "The Co-operative Movement in Palestine" (*International Labour Review*, Geneva, July, 1939).

Reviews and Notices of Books

Studies in Indo-Muslim History : A critical Commentary on Elliot and Dowson's History of India as told by its own Historians. With a Foreword by Sir Richard Burn, Kt., C.I.E.—By Shahpurshah Hormasji Hodivala. 9½ × 6½, pp. xxiii + 727. Fort Printing Press, Bombay. 1939.

Sir Henry M. Elliot was born in 1808 and was described as "the first of the since-celebrated competitionwallahs to pass an examination for a civil appointment direct to India." Before he arrived in this country he had already become known for his remarkable proficiency in Oriental languages. When he came to India he found the public indifferent to acquiring any familiarity with the true sources of the so-called Muhammadan History of India. He soon realized that the history of the Muslim period remained "yet to be written." With wonderful tenacity and titanic labour he set himself to the task of building the foundations of this history. In 1849 he published the first volume of his "Bibliographical Index to the Historians of Mahomedan India." This was but the introductory volume of his monumental work. Before he could complete his task, his health completely broke down and he died at the early age of forty-five at the Cape of Good Hope, where he had gone to recuperate. After his death, the Directors of the East India Company granted a sum of £500 for the publication of this posthumous work. It was not an easy task to find somebody who could tackle this stupendous work. After some early failures, the work was at last entrusted to Prof. John Dowson. No better selection could have been made at the time. He did not slavishly follow the arrangement of Elliot but introduced certain changes and corrected some palpable errors. One of the most important changes made was to subordinate the bibliographical character of the work to the historical. The chronological arrangement of the authors from the second volume onwards was another welcome change. The first volume of this edited work appeared in 1867 (Trübner and Co., London) and the eighth and last volume in 1877.

The indebtedness of all students of Indian Mediaeval History to this work is well known and requires no repetition here. Even as the work began to come out volume by volume, Prof. Dowson and others came to realize that industry and specialized research work were bound to correct some of the mistakes which were inevitable in a work of this nature which roughly covered a period of one thousand years (c. 851 A.D.—1848 A.D.) of the unexplored history of a sub-continent. Though Dowson was conscious of these "imperfections and errors" he had no patience with captious criticism. Thus when the second volume of the work came out in 1869, Major Raverty, that "ready censurer of the errors and shortcomings of his predecessors," offered criticism of the *Tabakat-i-Nasiri* as translated in it. In a note added to the eighth volume, Dowson stoutly defended Elliot's version against what he thought to be the "sneering animadversions" of the Major, though he gave him full credit for some real improvements in the text. In the same volume Dowson added a list of "additions and corrections" (pp. xxiii-xxviii), arranged volume by volume, which was—

if any more were needed—ample acknowledgment of the field for improvement in the material presented therein.

Since the publication of these volumes, many years have rolled by Students of Indology have increasingly felt the need of a comprehensive re-examination of the materials presented by Elliot and Dowson. But the task was so difficult and to some extent so thankless, that nobody attempted to bring out such a work in the light of the discovery of new and better MSS. and the great advance made in historical research in the period covered by the volumes. I was, therefore, agreeably surprised when Sir Richard Burn for the first time drew my attention to the present work at Oxford in July last. Its author, Prof. Hodivala, is no new worker in the field of historical research. Sir Richard has rightly praised him for his valuable contributions to "Mughul" Numismatics. As early as 1920, when Prof. Hodivala published his "Studies in Parsi History," he found "the materials for reconstructing the Mediaeval History of India distressingly meagre and inadequate." He, therefore, set himself the task of following up any hint, however insignificant or obscure, from all available contemporary and really authentic sources. No wonder that Prof. Hodivala should soon have discovered the many defects of Elliot and Dowson's work and he has now earned the gratitude of all students of Indology by his laborious and long-continued efforts to rectify these blemishes. The present work will be indispensable to all research workers in the Mediaeval History of India, though, as Sir Richard has pointed out, Prof. Hodivala would be the last person to insist that all his criticisms and suggestions are absolutely acceptable.

To offer any criticism on such a work would be to lay claim to an erudition which the limited knowledge of the present reviewer does not justify. I would, however, like to draw the attention of the author to one fact which has probably escaped his notice. Among other Persian chronicles, the *Tabakat-i-Akbari* mentions one *Raja Nandā* (see Elliot and Dowson, Vol. II, pp. 463-64, 467) who had slain the king of Kannouj and who was one of the more serious opponents of Māhmūd of Ghaznī. All scholars are agreed that this prince was a *Candella*. But there was no such king of this name in the records of the dynasty. The nearest phonetic equivalent was the name Gaṇḍa and scholars have identified *Nandā* of the Persian chroniclers with Gaṇḍa of the inscriptions. From Cunningham to Haig this suggestion was never challenged. Nobody cared to see that the description of the king as given by the Persian authors does not at all fit in with what we know about Gaṇḍa from the records of the Hindu dynasty. The account of the Muslim authors only harmonize with the Rajput dynastic records if we take the opponent of Māhmūd to be Vidyādhara. What was my surprise when I found in a MS. of the *T'rikh-ul-Kamil* of Ibn ul-Athir the name of this opponent of the Ghaznavid given as *Bīdâ*. Knowing, as I did that abbreviations of the long names of Candella kings were very common (*cf.* Vijayaśakti = Vija, Vijjā ; Jayaśakti = Jejā) during this period, I came to the conclusion that this Arabic chronicle of the 13th century has preserved the correct name which Nizāmuddīn and other late authors of Persian *T'warikhs* have corrupted (see my *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Calcutta University Press, Vol. I, 1931, pp. 604 ff.; *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 665 ff.).

In conclusion, I beg to suggest that it is time that somebody should undertake to publish a revised edition of Elliot and Dowson's great work.

H. C. RAY

The Anthropological Society of Bombay: Jubilee Volume (1937).—Pp. ii+292. Bombay. 1938.

The Anthropological Society of Bombay celebrated its Golden Jubilee on the 12th of January, 1937, and the present volume is a collection of essays published in order to commemorate that event.

The Volume contains the Address of welcome by the President and the Governor of Bombay's reply and the following essays: Who are the Descendants of the People of Mohen-jo Daro ? by Sir Patrick Cadell; Tree Worship in Mohen-jo Daro by Rev. Fr. H. Heras ; The Origin of certain Pot-Forms by Harold Peake; Pebbled mounds by G. E. L. Carter; The Ethnographic Survey of India by R. E. Enthoven; The Oldest Implements of Man by Rev. Dr. W. Schmidt; A Leaf from the Cultural Anthropology of Orissa by Satindra Narayan Ray; Some Aspects of the Economic Life of the Bhoksas and Tharus of Nainital Tarai by Dr. D. N. Majumdar; The Functional Character of Baiga Mythology by Verrier Elwin; Physical Data from Kathiawar by Dr. G. S. Ghurye; "Vratas": Vow of Virgins among Hindus by G. S. Mehta ; On the "Adonis Gardens" of Lower Bengal by Sarat Chandra Mitra; Sri-Vatsyayana: An Ethnological Study of India of 300 B.C. by M. K. Sett; Origin of Sālagrāma and Tulsi Worship by P. G. Shah, Caste in Travancore by L. A. Krishna Iyer; Social Bearings of the Hindu System of Marriage by Dr. P. H. Valavalkar, War and Peace: A Human Valuation by Dr. N. A. Thoothi.

From the list it is apparent that the essays cover a wide range of subjects ranging from Physical to Social Anthropology and Mythology. The essays are, naturally, not all of equal value ; but some among them, like those of Mr. Peake or Mr. Elwin, deserve special mention. We also agree with Mr. Enthoven in his suggestion that an effort should be made to gather together in a single handy volume the published material on the cultural anthropology of India taken as a whole.

Nirmal Kumar Bose

Krishnamurti.—Issued by the Star Publishing Trust.

The book under review is an authentic report of seventeen talks given in 1936 by Krishnamurti. It covers a wide range of subjects, and purports to give a new emphasis to spiritual life, realisation and all that. There is much to commend to those who are interested in the deeper aspects of our life and existence. Surely it would go a long way to back up those who believe that the "I"-consciousness is an illusion, the result of ignorance which has to be eliminated altogether before the sense of the ultimate Truth can dawn upon spiritual aspirants.

But I regret to say that there is much that is provocative and controversial. Krishnamurti's attitude to tradition, and time-honoured disciplines, spiritual and otherwise, is just revolutionary. According to him, no discipline can help anyone in his spiritual life, in his effort to realise the Truth that is in him and in the universe ; for a discipline can, in his opinion, create only habits, and contribute nothing to 'creative intuition' which is to be attained through discernment of ignorance. Aspirants, therefore, as he contends, must have to cast away all props—spiritual guides, scriptures, religions, their disciplines, and so on, inasmuch as these all make for stagnation. Doubtless, Krishnamurti could afford to be consistent if he could cease to give talks on matters religious and spiritual. Or perhaps he, like many a great man, prefers to be inconsistent. But truth is hardly to be found in contradictions, though inconsistency may on occasion be regarded as an index to one's greatness. Strange to say that Krishnamurti, after having realised the futility of all systems, traditions, leadership and the rest of it all, takes upon himself the task of figuring in 'camps' and giving the lead to countless people who gather round him for light and guidance. Does he not then labour under the same defects as, according to him, vitiate the systems that have hitherto been developed? And it is clear enough that Krishnamurti is all for his own way of life and thought. He is entitled to his opinion. But why does he go out of his way to inveigh against the ways of long standing? Inspite of valuable elements in his teachings, it seems that in his polemics against traditionists, Krishnamurti carries out a good deal of what goes by the name of propaganda; for he himself is acting as a 'guru,' and preaching a well-defined cult, which are verily the functions because of which he looks askance at the religion and the traditional disciplines.

A. C. Das

Ourselves

[I. Indian Historical Records Commission.—II. Indian History Congress.—III. Fifteenth Annual Meeting of the Inter-University Board.—IV. All-India Educational Conference.—V. Extension Lectures by American Professor.—VI. Renomination of Fellows.—VII. Appointment of the Professor of Anthropology.]

I. INDIAN HISTORICAL RECORDS COMMISSION

The Sixteenth Session of the Indian Historical Records Commission was held at the Darbhanga Library Hall of this University on the 13th and the 14th December, 1939. His Excellency Sir John Arthur Herbert, Governor of Bengal, inaugurated the proceedings and Sir Jadunath Sarkar presided. It was attended by scholars and representatives of Provincial Governments and Indian States.

One of the important recommendations of the Commission is a request to the Government of India that steps should be taken to secure copies of records relating to India, preserved in the India Office in London and at various places on the Continent including Holland, France and Portugal.

The Commission moved a resolution expressing sorrow at the deaths of its corresponding members, Sir Evan Cotton, Mr. Balasubramaniam Pillai, Mr. T. R. Sesha Iyengar and Mr. Mesrov J. Seth.

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II. INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS

THIRD SESSION

The Third Session of the Indian History Congress was held in Calcutta from December 15 to December 17, 1939, at the invitation of the Vice-Chancellor and the University. Dr. R. C. Mazumdar, M.A., Ph.D., Vice-Chancellor of the Dacca University, presided. The work of the Congress was divided into five sections presided over by eminent scholars: (1) *Archaic Section*—Dr. A. S. Altekar, M.A., D.Lit., of Benares Hindu University; (2) *Ancient Imperial Section*—Professor K. A. Nilkantha Shastri, M.A., of Madras University; (3) *Early Medieval*—Dr. N. Nazim, M.A., Ph.D. (Cantab.), of the Archaeological Survey of India; (4) *Mughal*—Dr. Tarachand, M.A., D.Phil. (Oxon.), Principal, Kayastha Pathsala, Allahabad; (5) *Modern*

Section—Professor C. S. Srinivasachari, M.A., of Annamalai University. One hundred and forty-two papers in all were read at the different sections of the Congress.

One hundred and eighty-four delegates attended the third session from all over India. The session was inaugurated by His Excellency the Chancellor in the spacious pandal erected between the Senate House and the Asutosh Building. All the meetings, including a lantern lecture on Prehistoric India by Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, M.A., Director-General of Archaeology, were held in the University premises. A delegates' camp was set up in the Asutosh Building to provide accommodation for the visiting members of the Congress.

A Historical Exhibition was organised in connexion with the Congress and was housed at the Senate Hall in which many valuable inscriptions and records were displayed. The Exhibition was opened by the Hon. Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq. There was also a trip to the historical sites along the River Hughli.

The members of the Congress were entertained at dinners by Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor and Dr. N. N. Law, at lunch by the University of Calcutta, and at tea by Dr. S. C. Law at his Villa at Agarpara. A Steamer Party was organised by the Reception Committee of which the Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor was the Chairman.

A Souvenir Volume on " Calcutta Past and Present " has been published by the University in connexion with this Congress. The proceedings of the Calcutta session are expected to be published shortly.

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III. FIFTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE INTER-UNIVERSITY BOARD

The Fifteenth Annual Meeting of the Inter-University Board was held at Waltair on the 15th and the 16th December, 1939. Among the proposals laid before it for deliberation were the two following forwarded by our University, the first being suggested by Mr. B. M. Sen, and the second by Prof. H. C. Raychaudhuri :—

1. Distribution of marks among the different subjects at the All-India Competitive Examinations, especially the I.C.S. and the Indian Audit and Accounts Service Examinations.

2. If a National Committee be set up to take part in the International Historical Congress, this University should have adequate

representation. As to point V, *viz.*, suggestion that Post-Graduate students should be compelled to make better use of at least one vacation, it may be pointed out that compulsion in such matters is hardly a practical proposition. It is, however, possible to offer prizes or similar awards to those amongst the students who can show a good record of useful or creative work during a vacation. Students should undoubtedly be encouraged to visit Research Institutions preferably during vacation.

As to point VIII, our University hardly has any research degree which may be termed "lower." If any such degree be instituted in other Universities, the successful recipient of the honour should be given facilities so that he may strive for the higher degree.

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IV. ALL-INDIA EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE

Professor Sir S. Radhakrishnan, KT., M.A., D.LITT., F.B.A., represented our University at the Fifteenth Session of the All-India Educational Conference held at Lucknow during Christmas week, 1939.

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V. EXTENSION LECTURES BY AMERICAN PROFESSOR

Professor Hotelling of Columbia University, U.S.A., will visit India during this winter in response to an invitation by the Indian Statistical Institute. Our University has decided to request him to deliver a course of lectures for the benefit of our students and scholars. The subject and the date of his lectures will be announced later through the medium of the daily papers.

* * *

VI. RENOMINATION OF FELLOWS

His Excellency the Chancellor has been pleased to renominate Dr. Susilkumar Mukherjee, L.M.S., D.O. (Oxon.), D.O.M.S. (Lond.), F.R.C.S. (Edin.), F.S.M.F. (Bengal), and Dr. M. N. Bose, M.B., C.M. Edin.), F.S.M.F. (Bengal), to be Ordinary Fellows of the University on the expiry of their term of office last November.

VII. APPOINTMENT OF THE PROFESSOR OF ANTHROPOLOGY

Objection was raised to the appointment of Mr. Kshitish Prasad Chattopadhyaya, M.Sc. (Cantab.), to the post of University Professor of Anthropology by Government on certain technical grounds. Accordingly the question was re-opened, and after a fresh deliberation, the appointment has been made once more in favour of Mr. Chattopadhyaya for a period of five years with effect from January 1, 1940. A recommendation has been made by the Syndicate to the Senate to this effect, and Government have been pleased to confirm the appointment.

UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA

Latest Publications

The Evolution of Indian Industries, by Dr. Rohinimohan Chaudhuri, M.A., Ph.D. Royal 8vo pp. 456 + ix. Rs. 5.

Alivardi and His Times, by Dr. Kalikinkar Datta, M.A., Ph.D. Royal 8vo pp. 308 + xv. Rs. 4.

Convocation Addresses, Vol. VII, pp. 164 + vi. Rs. 2-8.

Patua Sangit, by Mr. G. S. Dutt, I.C.S. pp. 116. Rs. 1-8.

Girischandra, by late Mr. Debendramohan Bose. Demy 8vo pp. 112. Re. 1.

Banglar Banking, by Dr. Harischandra Sinha, M.A., Ph.D. Demy 8vo pp. 224. Rs. 1-12.

Emanuel Kant (in Bengali), by Mr. Humayun Z. A. Kabir, M.A. (Oxon.). Demy 8vo pp. 104.

Bharater Silpa Katha, by Mr. Asitkumar Haldar. Demy 8vo pp. 260.

Bhota-Prakasa (A Tibetan Chrestomathy), by MM. Prof. Vidhusekhar Bhattacharya. D/Fcap 8vo pp. 578 + lix. Rs. 5.

Kavyadarsa (Sanskrit and Tibetan Texts), by Mr. Anukul Chandra Banerjee, M.A. D/Fcap 8vo pp. 286 + xxiv. Rs. 3.

Hetutattvopadesa of Jitari (Reconstructed Sanskrit Text with the Tibetan Version), by Mr. Durga Charan Chattopadhyay, M.A. D/Fcap 8vo pp. 74 + xviii. Rs. 1-8.

Indian Steel and Protection, by Mr. K. Khosla, M.A. Demy 8vo pp. 133 + x. Rs. 2.

Rabirasmi (*in Bengali*), Part II, by Mr. Charu Bandyopadhyay, M.A. Royal 8vo pp. 396. Rs. 3-0.

Exploration in Tibet, by Swami Pranavananda. D/Demy 16mo pp. 161 + xx. Rs. 2-8.

Studies in Tantras, Part I, by Dr. Prabodhchandra Bagchi, M.A., Dr. es Lettres (Paris). Demy 8vo pp. 118.

Books in the Press

JANUARY, 1940

1. The Problem of Minorities, by Dr. Dhirendranath Sen, M.A., Ph.D.
2. Generalities (*Readership Lectures*), by F. W. Thomas, Esq., M.A.
3. Jubilee French Course, by J. Buffard, Esq.
4. Nyayamanjari, Part I, Edited by Pandit Panchanan Tarkabagis.
5. Santhal Insurrections, by Dr. K. K. Datta, M.A., Ph.D.
6. Sree Krishna Bijay, Edited by Rai Bahadur Prof. Khagendranath Mitra, M.A.
7. Land System of Bengal, by Rai Bahadur Mahendranath Gupta, M.A., B.L.
8. General Catalogue of Bengali Manuscripts, edited by Mr. Manindramohan Bose, M.A.
9. Post-Graduate Vol. (Arts and Science) 1939.
10. Courtesy in Shakespeare, by Dr. Mohinimohan Bhattacharyya, M.A., Ph.D.
11. University Calendar for the year, 1940.
12. Krishi-Bijnan, Vol. II, by the late Rai Rajeswar Dasgupta, Bahadur.
13. Agamasastra, by MM. Prof. Vidhusekhar Bhattacharyya (Sastri).
14. Asok, by Dr. Surendranath Sen, M.A., Ph.D., B.Litt. (Oxon.).
15. Vyaptipanchaka, by Pt. Anantakumar Tarkatirtha.
16. Bharatiya Banaushadhir Parichaya, by Dr. Kalipada Biswas, M.A., D.Sc. and Mr. Ekkari Ghosh.
17. Journal of the Department of Letters, Vol. XXXIII.
18. Nyayamanjari, Part II, Edited by Pandit Panchanan Tarkabagis.
19. Industrial Finance in India, by Dr. Sarojkumar Bose, M.A., Ph.D.
20. Collected Published Papers, by the late Mr. Hemchandra Dasgupta, M.A., F.G.S.
21. University Questions for the year 1932.
22. Khandakhadyaka, Sanskrit Text, edited by Mr. Prabodhchandra Sengupta, M.A.
23. Translation of Pali Literature and Language, by Dr. Batakrishna Ghosh, Dr.Phil., D.Lit.
24. Siddhanta Sekhara, Vol. II, by Pandit Babua Misra.
25. Calendar, Part II, 1929, Supplement 1936.
26. Old Persian Inscriptions, by Dr. Sukumar Sen, M.A., Ph.D.

27. Some Historical Aspects of the Inscriptions of Bengal, by Dr. Binaychandra Sen, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.).
28. History of Bengali Language and Literature, by Rai Bahadur Dr. Dineschandra Sen, B.A., D.Litt.
29. Calculus of Finite Differences, by Mr. Pramathanath Mitra, M.A.
30. Industry in India, by Dr. P. N. Banerjea, M.A., D.Sc. (Lond.), Barrister-at-Law.
31. Some Published Papers, by Sir U. N. Brahmachari, Kt., M.A., M.D., Ph.D., F.A.S.B.
32. Lectures on Art, by Dr. Abanindranath Tagore, C.I.E.
33. Manobijnan, by Mr. Charuchandra Sinha, M.A.
34. Calendar, Part II 1929, Supplement 1937.
35. University Questions for the year 1933.
36. Europer Silpakatha, by Mr. Asitkumar Haldar.
37. Manasamangal, by Mr. Jatindramohan Bhattacharyya.
38. History of Indian Literature, Vol. III, by late Prof. M. Winternitz, Ph.D.
39. Gitar-Bani, by Mr. Anilbaran Ray.
40. Orthographical Dictionary, edited by Mr. Charuchandra Bhattacharyya.
41. Cynowulf and Cynowulf Canon, by Mr. S. K. Das, M.A., Ph.D.
42. Journal of the Departments of Science, Vol. I, No. 3.
43. Elements of the Science of Language (Revised Edition), by Dr. I. J. S. Taraporewala, B.A., Ph.D.
44. Asutosh Sanskrit Series, Edited by MM. Prof. V. Sastri.
45. University Calendar, Part II, 1937.
46. Raisekharer Padavali, by Mr. Jatindramohan Bhattacharyya.

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY PUBLICATIONS

VI. ECONOMICS, POLITICS, COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY

Economics of Leather Industry, by the same author. Demy 8vo pp. 194. 1926. Rs. 2-8.

In this book the author makes a careful economic survey of the existing sources of supply and deals with the economic importance of leather, causes of the decline of the indigenous leather industry, the export trade of raw hides and skins and the possibilities of successful leather industry in this country. The book contains valuable suggestions for the improvement of the raw material on which the economic life of various branches of leather industry depends.

"............The series of the articles ought to be read generally by all interested in the industries and commerce of India and particularly by those who are concerned with the leather industry and business."—*Modern Review*, April, May, June, 1925.

"............The author is to be congratulated upon producing a clear and complete exposition of the Indian trade and of India's raw materials, resources and the characteristics of them.........the information it furnishes will be interesting and valuable to the leather trade universally and the work forms an important addition to the trade's technical literature."—*The Leather Trades Review*, 10th February, 1926.

" The very able and practical monograph—his summary of suggestions deserves to be translated into the leading vernaculars of the country."—*The Mysore Economic Journal.*

" A useful glossary of terms—The book should prove useful to those interested in the economic side of the leather industries in India."—*The Bulletin of the Imperial Institute.*

' The Book is altogether interesting and suggestive and would repay reading."—*The Indian Journal of Economics.*

" Prof. Rau's volume is a great deal more than a mere academic treatise. He keeps himself in close contact with the market-place and is therefore able to offer a number of suggestions which will certainly serve to stimulate the interest of those connected with the trade in the hitherto unexplored possibilities of the leather industry in India. The appendices undoubtedly enhance the intent of the book. We commend this book to businessmen and students alike."—*The United Provinces Co-operative Journal*, July, 1926.

Inland Transport and Communication in Mediæval India, by Bijoykumar Sarkar, A.B. (Harvard), Lecturer in Economics, Calcutta University. Royal 8vo pp. 91. 1925. Re. 1-12.

The object of this book is to study the methods of inland transport and communication in mediæval India, roughly from the 11th to the 18th century A.D. In the preparation of this work, the chronicles of Mahomedan historians and the accounts of foreign travellers have been the author's principal sources of information.

W. H. Moreland :—" I have read Mr. Sarkar's book on Inland Transport with much interest, and I may say that, speaking generally, the method strikes me as sound and the execution satisfactory."

Prof. J. Jolly, Ph.D., University of Wurzburg, Bavaria :—" Mr. B. K. Sarkar's work on Inland Transport and Communication in Mediæval India is no doubt a valuable production. Mr. Sarkar appears to have spared no pains to collect important materials from the most various sources. His book is very pleasant reading and presents a vivid picture of the means of Water and Land Transport during the middle ages. The index is very copious and gives a good idea of the varied contents of the work."

" Adequate and useful study of Transportation. It is a useful service to gather the scattered references and organise the material in a systematic statement."—*American Economic Review.*

Charles Gide :—" Le petit livra de M.S. est d'une lecture agréable, comme serait celle d'un voyage à travers les âges et dans un pays qui n'a pas besoin du recul du temps pour être pittoresque. Une bonne part des reseignements donnés dane ce livre et les plus intéressants, est empruntée au livre d'un Fransais, Tavernier, dont le voyage dane l'Inde au xvii Siècle parait avoir une valeur documментaire, pour l'histoire de l'Indégale à celle du livre de voyage d'Arthur Young pour l'histoire de la France à la veille de la Rêvolution."

Paper Currency in India, by B. B. Dasgupta, M.A., Ph.D. (Cal.), B.Sc. (Econ.), (London), Reader, Lucknow University. Demy 8vo pp. 332. 1927. Rs. 4-0.

" The whole monetary organisation of India is at present being discussed and examined by the public as it never was before; and it is to be hoped that this book which deals exhaustively with our Paper Currency but incidentally also with many other phases of our monetary system will be carefully read by many of the public and will enlighten and guide their judgment. The author has shown in his handling of his thesis, originality of thought and treatment and his work is based on careful and painstaking research. I have read with special interest, attention and instruction the last chapter dealing with the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Indian Currency and Finance. I only wish that many more critics of that Report possessed the scholarly erudition and the well-balanced judgment of our author."—*From the Foreword by Prof. Sir J. C. Coyajee, Kt., I.E.S.*

" Dr. Dasgupta deserves the gratitude of all students of Indian Economics and those engaged in currency controversies for having, for the first time, singled out the whole theory and system of Indian paper currency for a clear analytic treatment, shorn of the many non-economic issues that rightly or wrongly have been allowed to clog it.

The suggestions he makes are marked by a balanced and sound judgment and deserve careful consideration."—*Modern Review*, December, 1927.

Some Bengal Villages, an economic survey, edited by N. C. Bhattacharyya, M.A., B.L., and L. A. Natesan, M.A., B.L., with a Foreword by Sir Daniel Hamilton, Kt. Royal 8vo pp. 236. Rs. 3-0.

The village surveys contained in this volume are the results of the students' efforts. The data will be of some use in stimulating original investigations into the rural conditions of Bengal.

Water Supplies in Bengal, by Nisikanta Ray, B.A., pp. 175. (5½″ × 7½″). 1936. Re. 1-12.

Land Problems of India, by Radhakamal Mukherjee, M.A., Ph.D. Demy 8vo pp. 369. Rs. 5-0.

This book directs attention to the difficult problems that have daily to be faced by the Indian peasant and calls for reforms which would include a modified State landlordism—a new Zamindarism paving the way for a real agricultural partnership between landlord and tenant—and a rehabilitated village community.

Dr. Radhakamal Mukherjee has in this book used historical and comparative methods in dealing with different types of landholding and village structure and with their economic effects in India. Methods of investigation such as those of Vinogradoff have been followed in tracing the development of clan, caste and communal distribution and village settlement in India. Thus the book is an important contribution to Indian village origins and its approaches from the angles of comparative ethnology and economic history materially supplement Baden-Powell's treatment of the subject.

Even more important is its contribution towards understanding the complexities of the present land system and land unsettlement in India. The supersession of customary rights of peasants by landlord tenures and by the State, their economic weakness due to fractionalisation, the unfair distribution of the burden of taxation, the multiplication of rent-receivers, tenants and agricultural labourers, and the ease and frequency of transfers of land from cultivators to middle and money-lending classes—all these betoken an agrarian crisis in the country. Professor Mukherjee's scheme of agrarian reform includes the modification of the Zamindari system and its approximation to share tenancy as in Italy and Japan; grant of permanence and heritability to all grades of tenants; a drastic reduction of sub-letting and subinfeudation; restriction of borrowing, mortgage and transfer; compulsory restripment and consolidation of holdings; exemption of undersized holdings from rent and revenue enhancement; a progressive rate of taxation of agricultural income, weighing heavily upon landlords, lessees, and all kinds of intermediaries; redemption and settlement of unsecured debts of agriculturists; abolition of usurious rates of interest and the establishment of debt conciliation and land courts in the villages.

Dr. Mukherjee is keenly alive to the changes in agrarian policy foreshadowed in the New Constitution when the peasantry will gain political power, and in the economic democracy, the first stirrings of which are visible in widespread peasant unrest and tenant revolt. He records the social and political reactions of the agrarian problem and concludes with a warning that to delay reform, whether from fear of angering vested interests, or from apathy towards the unvocal classes, is to sow the seeds of revolution.

The Rights and Duties of the Indian Citizen (*Second Series of Kamala Lectures*), by the Rt. Hon'ble Mr. Srinivasa Sastri, P.C. Demy 8vo pp. 126. 1927. Re. 1-8.

The Constitutional System of India, by Nareschandra Roy, M.A., Ph.D. Demy 8vo pp. 386. 1937. Rs. 2-8.

In this book an examination has been made of the constitutional organisation as created by the Government of India Act, 1935. In order that the system inaugurated may be clearly understood, a short and rapid account of the constitutional development since the conferment of the Dewani has been prefixed.

Public Administration in India, (Lectures delivered before the University of Calcutta in 1926-27), by Akshaya K. Ghose, Bar.-at-Law, sometime Professor of Law, History and Politics. Royal 8vo pp. xxi+743. Excellent get-up and full cloth binding. 1930. Rs. 10-0.

The book deals with every aspect of the Government of India in action. In it the author endeavours to examine and analyse in detail every aspect of the last Reforms, from a purely academic point of view, and to assess their proper constitutional value. It is the only work of its kind. A work of years of study and research, the book in itself is more complete and altogether covers a wider area than any book hitherto published, dealing with the same subject, so as to be recognised as the most authoritative and accurate work on the Government of India in motion.

Prof. A. Berriedale Keith :—".........a very clear and careful exposition, a sound and thoughtful work which should be easily understood among wide circles of persons interested in understanding the actual constitution of India."

Prof. Edward Jenks :—".........I shall derive great benefit from its learning and accuracy. And I desire to congratulate the University and the learned author heartily on the production of this monumental work."

Prof. Ernest Barker (Professor of Political Science in the University of Cambridge) :—"......I should like to say that when we make the development of the Government of India since 1858 a subject of study in one of our Triposes here, I am sure that Mr. Ghose's book will be a useful book for reference for our students."

Sir John A. R. Marriott :—"...........It will be useful as a work of reference........"

Prof. J. H. Morgan :—"...........I have already formed the conclusion that it is a most valuable contribution to a subject which has never been adequately dealt with.........Mr. Ghose's work is the very book which all of us who are interested in constitutional developments in India have been waiting for."

Times Literary Supplement (London) :—"...........The book furnishes a comprehensive review of Indian Governmental machinery."

Civil and Military Gazette :—"...........Presented in a correct and logical form......a welcome source of information to students of Indian constitution..........."

Hindu (Madras) :—".........has placed all those who are desirous of a sane, detailed and descriptive account......under indebtedness......a work of great utility.

Liberty (Calcutta) : "...........The readers will be bound to admire his presentations even when they differ......the book is a mine of information."

Bengalee (Calcutta) :—"...........examines with a scholarly outlook and large interpretative powers......in a thesis of great value.. ...masterly work admirably presented."

A. B. Patrika (Calcutta) :—".........Questions have been dealt with a wealth of language and felicity of expression which at once command respect and create interest which does not flag until you come to the end......has described the delicate machinery of finance and revenue with surprising lucidity ......if reliable description and responsible criticism of the governmental machinery are to be obtained we need only turn to this book."

Advance (Calcutta) :—"...........It is a pleasure to read it......Mr. Ghose has done a real service by putting in print the inner working of the different branches of the administration. Author has come to grips with the machinery of the administration......It is a *vade-mecum* which ought to be in the hands of every student of the subject and publicist. An invaluable help to constructive thinkers and politicians......solid contribution......masterly historical introduction with which he has prefaced every chapter."

Englishman :—"...........wide knowledge and great lucidity. He knows how to take state machinery to pieces, to distinguish its essential from non-essential parts, and to fit the pieces together again so as to show the functions performed by each in relation to others..............the book is bound to be referred to as a work of authority..........."

Calcutta Weekly Notes :—"...........As the reader rises from his persual of the book he is aware not only of some accession to knowledge but also of some definite feeling about every item he has learnt."

Modern Review :—"...........a book......which should be classed with the best standard works on the subject......congratulate the author and the University of Calcutta for having brought out this excellent treatise on a subject which is now in the forefront."

Servant of India (Poona) :—".........stating the problems dispassionately ....excellent as a descriptive and historical treatment of Indian administrative institutions.........."

Harvard Law Review (U.S.A.) :—".........is indeed comprehensive...... historical outline at the outset of each chapter is a very valuable feature of the work...........the treatment of the Provincial government is highly commendable...........The volume presents a broad and highly suggestive view of the British Indian political organisation of to-day."

The Mahratta :—"...........A masterpiece in itself......eminently useful the book is sure to be......will rank high in the great publications......"

Law Journal (Calcutta) :—"...........amount of erudition and political sagacity......fascinating style......book of great merit......excellent production......"

The Case for Financial Justice to Bengal, by J. N. Gupta, M.A., I.C.S. (retd.). Demy 8vo pp. 104. 1932. Re. 1-0.

A monograph dealing with the claims of Bengal for a redress of the injustice of depriving her of the major portion of her revenues and leaving her with totally inadequate and insufficient resources and reducing her to a position of marked inferiority as compared with the other provinces of India. Tracing the early revenue history of the Indian provinces the book shews the financial indebtedness of the rest of India to Bengal owing to the adoption of fundamentally wrong and inequitable principles of the division of the Indian revenues between the Provinces and the Cenral Government. The highly deleterious effects of this unjust treatment on the moral, material and political progress of the province have been described and a strong case made out that without a fairer distribution of her revenue there is no hope for Bengal in any scheme of administration however advanced and democratic a proposition which the Bengal Legislative Council has endorsed in a strongly worded Resolution. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* and the *Modern Review* in favourably reviewing the book state that it contains a very forcible yet moderate exposition of the claims of Bengal to an adequate share in her revenues.

History of Political Thought (From Rammohun to Dayananda, 1821-84), Vol. I: Bengal, by Bimanbihari Majumdar, M.A., Premchand Roychand Scholar. Demy 8vo pp. 518. 1934. Rs. 4-8.

In this book the author traces the ultimate growth of abstract political ideas in British India through a history of the activities of Indian political organizations and of the changing critical attitudes of Indian public men towards the Indo-British administration. The political ideas and theories of the greatest leaders of the Bengal thought in the pre-Congress era have been presented here for the first time in a compact and comprehensive form so as to enable the general readers as well as the statesmen and administrators to come to a better and quicker understanding of the trend of current politics.

Marquess of Zetland.—" I should like to congratulate you upon having produced a volume of great interest and value. I think that the chapter which interested me more than any other was the one on Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, for whom I have always had a great admiration.........I hope that your volume will receive from the public the recognition which it deserves."

Rt. Hon. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru.—" I have found it extremely interesting and informing. I feel that your book will be very useful in giving the present generation of politicians some idea of the men who gave impetus to political thought in India in those far-off days."

Dr. A. Berriedale Keith.—" Contains a vast amount of information which is not familiar to students of political ideas even though well versed in western literature, and it is expressed with admirable lucidity. Moreover the author shows judgment and restraint in marked degree when dealing with matters of controversial type."

Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Kt., C.I.E.—" The book breaks new ground in the study of the history of modern India. The author has worked on sound lines by going to the original sources of his subject, especially the old periodical literature which is growing scarcer day by day."

Dr. Helmuth Von Glasenapp (Königsberg University).—" An excellent piece of work and I read it with the greatest interest."

The Hindu Educational and Literary Supplement (Madras), January, 1, 1935 :—"………Mr. Majumdar must be admitted as having rendered a real service to politicians and students by collecting evidence of continued and intense political thinking during the formative period of Indian nationalism. His work will prove a valuable work of reference, the fruit of wide reading and assiduous research."

Dr. S. K. De (Dacca University).—" It is full and enlightening, very lucidly expressed, covering all important parts of the subject, and gives an attractive and interesting summary not only of the views of the principal thinkers of the period but also of their personalities revealed in their thought.

From the leading editorial article entitled the " Growth of Indian Nationalism " in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, Sept. 27, 1934 : "………The history of the beginning of our national life has for the first time been published with all the antecedent factors and tendencies contributing toward it by Prof. Bimanbihari Majumdar, M.A., P.R.S., of Patna, in his masterly work, ' History of Political Thought.'………From the standpoint of Indian nationalism Prof. Majumdar's book will be considered as having a perennial interest for the reader—a book that amply testifies to the writer's industry and sober scholarship…………A few weeks ago Mr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee, the new Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, gave expression to his desire of bringing the University into closer contact with the public life of the country. Prof. Majumdar's work may be taken as the first step in that direction."

The Hindusthan Review, January, 1935 : "…………Prof. Majumdar has elaborately discussed the history of political organisations in India since 1935. Wrong dates about the Landholders' Society and the British Indian Society given in ' Political India ' edited by Sir John Cumming (p. 33) should be revised in the light of the correct information supplied by the author in pp. 177-185 of this book. We must thank the author for his having taken so much trouble for utilizing for his work the original sources gathered from place to place. Reading old and brittle papers and manuscripts require great patience and skill which the author has fairly exhibited…………His style is lucid and expression attractive; and the book being devoid of dull technicalities and also being sometimes enlivened by touches of humour will be pleasant reading for all, whether specialists or general readers."

From the Leaderette in the *Ananda Bazar Patrika*, 30th Sept., 1934 :
" পাঁচশত পৃষ্ঠার এই গ্রন্থখানি বাঙ্গালার রাজনীতি বিভাগের এক অমূল্য গ্রন্থরূপে পরবর্ত্তীদের আলোচনার পথে আলোক-বর্ত্তিকাস্বরূপ পথ দেখাইবে।"

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The Calcutta Municipal Gazette, June 15, 1935 : " As a background of the present political history of India, it is unquestionably valuable, both for foreigners and Indians themselves."

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VII. LAW

The Evolution of Law, by Nareschandra Sen Gupta, M.A., D.L., Advocate, Calcutta High Court. Royal 8vo pp. 191. 1925. Rs. 2-8.

In this work the author gives a systematic treatment of historical and comparative jurisprudence on the basis of the most up-to-date knowledge of ancient laws and the laws and institutions of retarded races. The work is designed as an introduction to the study of the subject which is treated simply and in broad outline. But it is not a mere collection of the views of other scholars. While the opinions of all standard authorities on the main topics of evolutionary jurisprudence are given, the author has given many new interpretations of facts and has put forward some strikingly new opinions. A remarkable feature of the work is the ample use of materials taken from a historical study of Hindu Law which has hitherto received far less attention than it deserved in connection with questions of evolutionary jurisprudence. This has led the author to formulate new theories of the forms of family organisation, marriage and kinship, law of procedure, of crimes, of the origin of property and of contract and a strikingly original theory of the law of Descent, which, it is hoped, will be found worthy of consideration by scholars. Contrary to accepted views, the author traces the origin of laws of inheritance to donations *mortis causa* or at the time of renunciation and thus establishes the primacy of testamentary over intestate succession. In an appendix the author gives a discussion of the history of the Hindu Joint Family Law which throws much new light on the subject. As the author points out in the preface, the state of our knowledge of the subject being what it is, it is impossible to systematise the existing knowledge of the subject without a certain measure of theorising on one's own account. This the author has done on a large scale and in the treatment of every topic dealt with by him there are new thoughts and interesting new points of view presented which will furnish food for reflection.

The Problems of Aerial Law, by Bijankumar Mukherjee, M.A., D.L. Demy 8vo·pp. 255. 1925. Rs. 2-8.

The work is a thesis approved for the Degree of Doctor of Law. It is divided into four chapters:—

Chapter I.—Beginning and Development of Aerial Law. In this chapter, the author has collected the earliest legal ideas on the subject and has attempted to show how these ideas gradually broadened down with increasing discoveries of human science.

Chapter II.—Sovereignty of the Air. Here the author has examined minutely the different theories that have been put forward by different jurists and has suggested all possible arguments that could be advanced either for or against them.

Chapter III.—Principles of International Law relating to the Air Space. This chapter has been subdivided into two parts. In the first part the author has analysed and examined in detail the 45 articles contained in the Air Navigation Convention of 1919 and has suggested alterations wherever the provisions appeared to him to be unsound in principle or unworkable in practice. The other part, which deals with questions of war and neutrality, is much more speculative in nature and the author has built up the law with such materials as were furnished by the analogy of the existing usages of maritine warfare and the practices of the combatants in the last great European War.

Chapter IV.—Principles of Municipal Law relating to the Air Space. In this chapter the author's principal effort has been to establish that a perfectly consistent theory affording a complete solution of the several problems of private law that arise in connection with the use of air space may be constructed from the principles of English Common Law as they have been applied by English and American Courts.

Effect of War on Contracts (*Onauth Nauth Deb Prize, 1917*), by Praphullachandra Ghosh, M.A., B.L. Demy 8vo pp. 152. Rs. 4-8.

The book describes at length the changes brought about by the last European War in the commercial and financial relations of nations and individuals.

Trading with the Enemy (*Onauth Nauth Deb Prize, 1918*), by A. C. Gupta, M.A., B.L. Demy 8vo pp. 146. Rs. 4-8.

The volume deals with the general principles of the law (according to the English Common Law) of Trading with the Enemy to which the last European War lent interest and prominence.

Legal Aspects of Strikes (*Onauth Nauth Deb Prize, 1919*), by Prabodhchandra Ghosh, M.A., B.L. Demy 8vo pp. 61. Rs. 2-4. (*Out of Print*).

In the opinion of the author, concerted movements of labour analogous to strikes are as old as history itself. In dealing with the history of strikes he, therefore, traces their origin and course, not only from a legal point of view but also from a historical standpoint and discusses the remedial measures in the light of the condition of labour in other countries.

Occupancy Right—Its History and Incidents (*Onauth Nauth Deb Prize*), by Radharaman Mookerjee, B.L., Vakil, Calcutta High Court; Author of the *Law of Benami*. Demy 8vo pp. 436. Rs. 6-0.

The work contains a history of Land Tenure in India from the earliest Vedic age and traverses practically most of the important and relevant portions of the Bengal Tenancy Act as explained in the leading cases on the subject, and indicates the basic principles thereof.

Position of Women in Hindu Law, by Dwarka Nath Mitra, M.A., D.L., ex-Judge, High Court, Calcutta. Demy 8vo pp. 758. Rs. 12-0.

The work is a thesis approved for the Degree of Doctor of Law in the University of Calcutta. It is generally based on original research as well as on the results achieved by previous writers on Hindu Law. It traces historically the various stages in the development of the position of women in Hindu Law.

General Contents

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The Theory of Adoption (*Jogendrachandra Ghosh Prize, 1909*), by Pandit Durvasula Srirama Sastri, B.A., M.L. Demy 8vo pp. 59. Rs. 3-12.

It discusses the origin and merits of the theory of adoption in a Hindu family.

Separation of Executive and Judicial Functions, by R. N. Gilchrist, M.A. Demy 8vo pp. 244. Rs. 4-0.

The Hindu Philosophy of Law, by Radhabinod Pal, M.A., D.L. Demy 8vo pp. 176. Rs. 6-0. (*Out of Print.*)

In this book the author has directed his efforts mainly towards an unfolding of early Hindu fundamental conception of law and has confined himself to the Vedic and post-Vedic times prior to the Institutes of Manu. The second, third, fourth and fifth chapters particularly, which relate to an enquiry into the philosophical conceptions of Law, contain original matters, treated in an original way.

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Law of Primogeniture (*Tagore Law Lectures delivered in the Calcutta University in 1925*), by Radhabinod Pal, M.A., D.L. Royal 8vo pp. 556. 1930. Rs. 12-0.

In these lectures the author has traced the origin and growth of primogeniture in various countries. The bulk of the volume, however, is devoted to tracing the development of the law in India and for this purpose the author having started from the remotest times has fully examined how these various rules attained their present state. He has also discussed in this volume all possible modern problems and has dealt with the actual application of the law signalizing the divergences of opinion and of practice.

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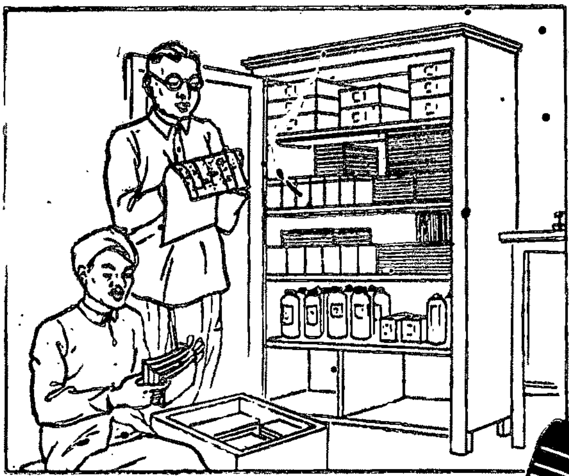

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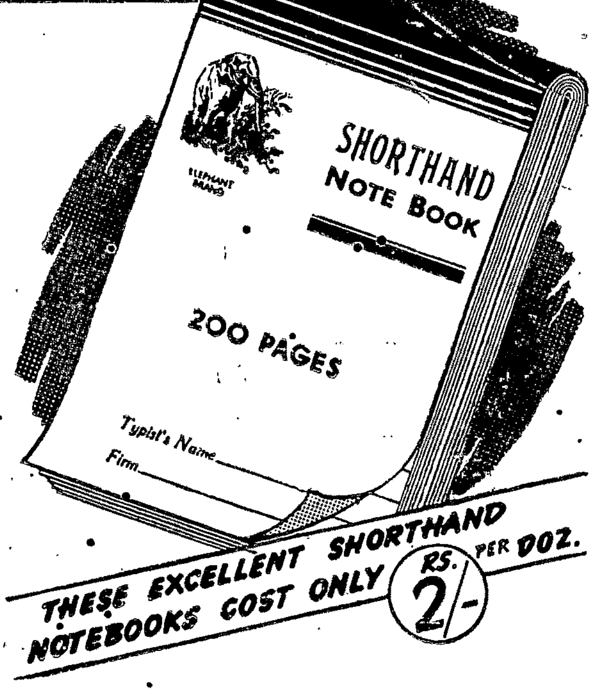
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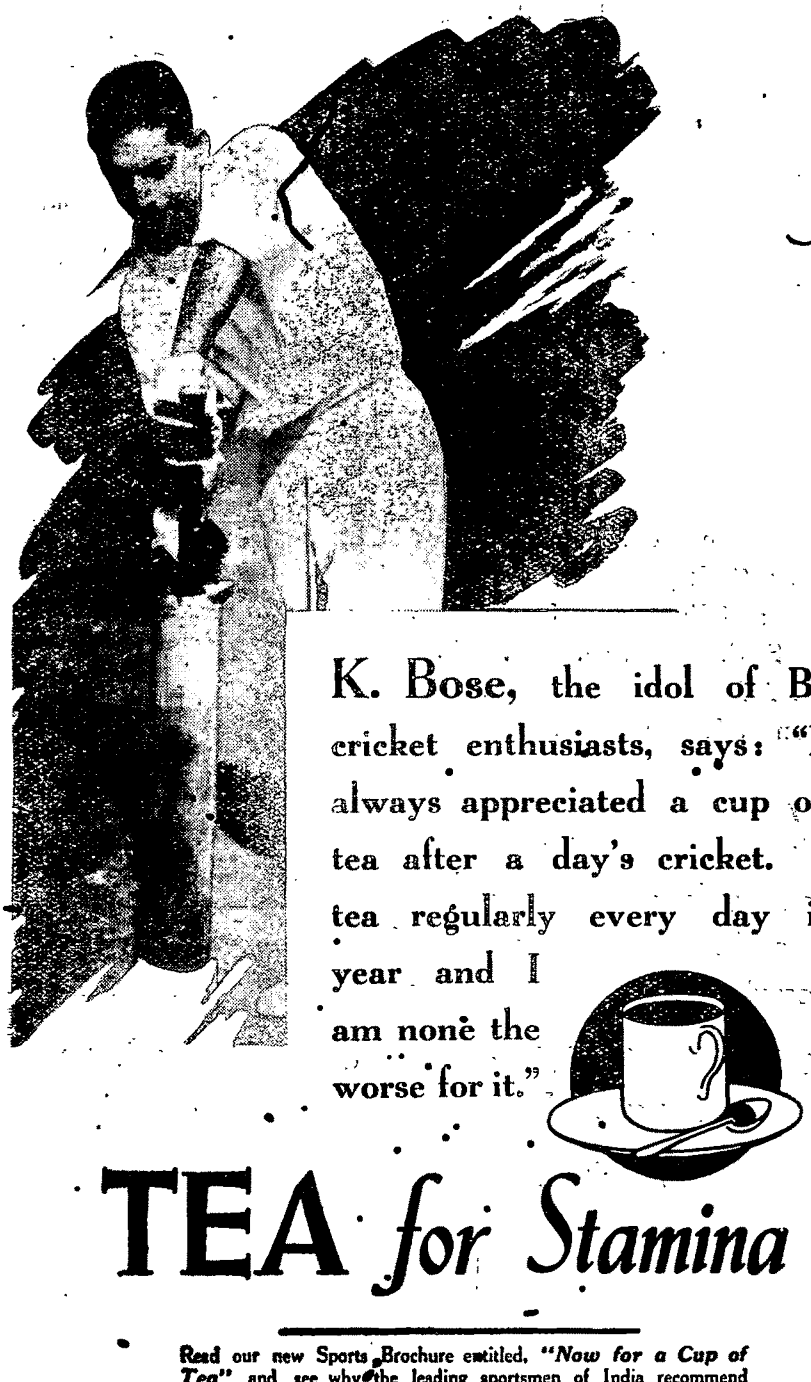

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CALCUTTA REVIEW

FEBRUARY, 1940

THE SHAKESPEAREAN PUZZLE—ENDEAVOURS AFTER ITS SOLUTION

Sir P. C. Rây

IV

Contemporary appreciation of Shakespeare

Another puzzling problem which confronts us at the threshold of our Shakespearean study is: was the poet recognised and duly appreciated in his life time as the greatest poet that ever was born? Here again opinions seem to be divided,—let us see to what extent. D. Nichol Smith in his introduction to *The Shakespeare Criticism*[1] opines "There is abundant proof of the esteem in which Shakespeare was held in his own days He was recognised as the greatest of them all. His writings were confessed to be such. As neither *Man*, nor *Muse*, can praise too much; and this was 'all men's suffrage.' His contemporaries had never any doubt of his greatness."

Sir Sidney Lee [2], one of the standard biographers of Shakespeare, observes:

"For several years his genius as dramatist and poet had been acknowledged by critics and play-goers alike, and his social and professional position had become considerable."

---

[1] The World's Classics Series—p. VI.

[2] Lee—*William Shakespeare*, p. 176

The other view also has very strong supporters. Munroe[1] who may be taken as the spokesman of this school of critics says—

"... The death of Shakespeare, * * * * * made no immediate difference to the poet's position in literature. When the "myriad-minded" Shakespeare, that sweet swan of Avon, died, no contemporary poet assailed the dull cold ear of death with metrical lamentations, and not then did Shakespeare's posthumous greatness begin."

Sir Walter Raleigh[2] is of opinion "that the age was too near to see him truly. There was no one to make an idol of him while he lived."

Shakespeare's dramatic career, from nonage to perfection, extends over barely a score of years, during which period a self-made man like our poet surely came in contact with quite a large number of persons of different positions. Fame and fortune's smiles must have brought to him sure signs of jealousy, rivalry, appreciation if not fanaticism and any serious student would certainly take the pains of searching contemporary records for ascertaining how far this immortal poet was appreciated in his life time. One must not forget that the age in which Shakespeare flourished, instead of being a critical one, was an age of literary creation and every Elizabethan gentleman cherished a soft corner of his heart for literary topics and showed a really genuine interest for literature. It has been pointed out in a previous issue[3] that drama was not, in those days, recognised as literature and playwrights were accorded no very high position in the society. At the very outset of his career Shakespeare, therefore, tried his hands at poems which were favourably accepted by his contemporaries.

In the present article we should limit our attention to the contemporary appreciation of Shakespeare, the dramatist. Perhaps the dying and disgruntled Greene was the first to make a mention of Shakespeare as a play-wright in his *Groats-worth of Wit* (1592). Greene was after all a noted dramatist of that day and Shakespeare was just making his first entrance into the arena. Shakespeare was an actor at the beginning but soon took to write plays himself and Greene could not check himself to utter his venomous invective against the new comer in the field. Greene's reference is scrupulously anonymous but critics unanimously agree as to whom it relates. The following sentences give unmistakable clue as to Greene's objective of attack.

---

[1] Munroe—Introduction to *Shakespeare Allusion Book*, p. xiv.
[2] *Shakespeare*—(English men of letters series), p. 1.
[3] This Journal—December, 1939 issue.

"Yes trust them not : for there is an vpstart Crow, beautified with our feathers, that with his Tygers hart wrapt in a Players hyde, supposes he is as well able to bombast out a blanke verse as the best of you: and beeing an absolute Iohannes fac totum is in his owne conceit the onely Shake-Scene in a countrey."

Henry Chettle who published this *Groats-worth of Wit realised* within a few months [1] the positive injustice done to Shakespeare and came forward with the following public apology:—

"About three moneths since died M. Robert Greene, leauing many papers in sundry Booke sellers hands, among other his Groatsworth of wit, in which a letter written to diuers play-makers, is offensiuely by one or two of them taken ; and because on the dead they cannot be auenged, they wilfully forge in their conceites a liuing Author: and after tossing it to and fro, no remedy, but it must light on me. How I haue all the time of my conuersing in printing hindered the bitter inueying against schollers, it hath been very well knowne ; and how in that I dealt, I can sufficiently prooue. With neither of them that take offence was I acquainted, and with one of them I care not if I neuer be: The other, whom at that time I did not so much spare, as since I wish I had, for that as I haue moderated the heate of liuing writers, and might have vsde my owne discretion (especially in such a case) the Author beeing dead, that I did not, I am as sorry as if the original fault had beene my fault, because my selfe haue seene his demeanor no lesse ciuill than he exelent in the qualitie he professes: Besides, diuers of worship haue reported his uprightnes of dealing, which argues his honesty, and his facetious grace in writting, that aprooues his Art.

It must be noted here that this also is without the name of Shakespeare. Chettle in 1603 [2] refers to Shakespeare by name and complains of him in the following lines:

"Nor doth the siluer tonged Melicert,
Drop from his honied muse one sable teare
To mourne her death that graced his desert,
And to his laies opend her Royall eare.
Shepheard, remember our Elizabeth,
And sing her Rape, done by that Tarquin, Death."

---

[1] *Groats-worth of Wit* was entered in the stationers register on 20th September and Chettles *Kind-Harts Dreame* was entered in the register on 9th December, both in 1592.

[2] *Englandes Mourning Garment*

Now why is it that Chettle who does not name Shakespeare in 1592 not only mentions him openly by name in 1603; but calls him 'silver-tongued Melicert ?' Certainly this explains the fact that the new-comer of 1592 is at the zenith of his fame in 1603 and Chettle considers the Royal epitaph incomplete without a line from the 'siluer-tongued' poet.

In 1594, even after the publication of Chettle's apology, R.B. (The identity of the author is still uncertain) in his *Greene's Funeralls* records as follows:—

> "Greene, is the pleasing Obiect of an eie:
> Greene, pleasde the eies of all that lookt vppon him.
> Greene, is the ground of euerie Painters die:
> Greene, gaue the ground, to all that wrote vpon him.
> Nay more the men, that so Eclipst his fame:
> Purloynde his Plumes, can they deny the same ?"

This passage if read along with the Greene reference already referred to, would surely prove that Greene and his friends all apprehended that Greene's fame might before long be eclipsed by Shakspeare and hence their complaints.

The earliest noteworthy and specific mention of Shakespeare as dramatic writer is in 1598 by Francis Meres (1565-1647), a Cambridge man and a school master at Wing, Rutland. His reference runs as follows:—

> "A comparatiue discourse of our English Poets
> with the Greeke, Latine, and Italian Poets.

... The English tongue is mightily enriched, and gorgeouslie inuested in rare ornaments and resplendent abiliments by Sir Philip Sidney, Spencer, Daniel, Drayton, Warner, Shakespeare, Marlow and Chapman. ...

As the soule of Euphorbus was thought to liue in Pythagoras: so the sweete wittie soule of Ouid liues in mellifluous & hony-tongued Shakespeare, witnes his Venus and Adonis, his Lucrece, his sugred Sonnets among his priuate friends, and &c.

As Plautus and Seneca are accounted the best for Comedy and Tragedy among the Latines: so Shakespeare among the English is the most excellent in both kinds for the stage ; for Comedy, witnes his Gentlemen of Verona, his Errors, his Loue labors lost, his Loue labours wonne, his Midsummers night dreame, & his Merchant of Venice: for Tragedy his Richard the 2. Richard the 3. Henry the 4. King Iohn, Titus Andronicus and his Romeo and Iuliet.

As Epius Stolo said, that the Muses would speake with plautus tongue, if they would speak Latin: so I say that the Muses would speak with Shakespeares fine filed phrase, if they would speake English. ...

As Ouid saith of his wroke...as Horace saith of his...so say I seuerally of Sir Philip Sidneys, Spencers, Daniels, Draytons, Shakespeares, and Warners workes;

> Non Iouis ira, imbres, Mars, ferrum, flamma, senectus,
> Hoc opus vnda, lues, turbo, venena ruent ...

As Pindarus, Anacreon and Callimachus among the Greekes; and Horace and Catullus among the Latines are the best Lyrick Poets: so in this faculty the best among our Poets are Spencer (who excelleth in all kinds) Daniel, Drayton, Shakespeare, Bretton.

These are our best for Tragedie, the Lorde Buckhurst, Doctor Leg of Cambridge, Doctor Edes of Oxforde, maister Edward Ferris, the Author of the Mirrour for Magistrates, Marlow, Peele, Watson, Kid, Shakespeare, Drayton, Chapman, Decker, and Beniamin Johnson. ...

The best for Comedy amongst us bee, Edward Earle of Oxforde, Doctor Gager of Oxforde, Maister Rowley once a rare Scholler of Learned Pembrooke Hall in Cambridge, Maister Edwardes one of her Maiesties Chappell, eloquent and wittie John Lilly, Lodge, Gascoyne, Greene, Shakespeare, Thomas Nash, Thomas Heywood, Anthony Mundye our best plotter, Chapman, Porter, Wilson, Hathway, and Henry Chettle. ...

These are the most passionate among us to bewaile and bemoane the perplexities of Loue, Henrie Howard Earle of Surrey, sir Thomas Wyat the elder, sir Francis Brian, sir Philip Sidney, sir Walter Rawley, sir Edward Dyer, Spencer, Daniel, Drayton, Shakespeare, Whetstone, Gascoyne, Samuell Page sometimes fellowe of Corpus Christi Colledge in Oxford, Churchyard, Bretton."

But Meres was a mere divine and a school master and his opinion did not count much with his contemporaries.

"The younger sort takes much delight in Shakespeare's Venus, & Adonis: But his Lucrece, & his tragedy of Hamlet, Prince of

Denmarke, have it in them, to please the wiser sort."—Thus records Gabriel Harvey in a marginal note to his volume of Speghts Chaucer. The exact date of this entry is rather difficult to ascertain but the entry must be between 1598 and 1601. This indeed is a very high appreciation of Shakespeare which a widely-read sober man can bestow upon a contemporary dramatist and his master piece. In the same note Harvey suggests " Excellent matter of emulation for Spencer, Constable France, Watson, Daniel, Warner, Chapman, Siluester, Shakespeare and the rest of our florishing metricians." This sentence in the note evidently proves that Harvey liked Shakespeare's early poems as also his *Hamlet,* but he could not realise at that time the singular greatness of the poet.

John Weever, an antiquarian in 1599 referred to " Honie-tongued Shakespeare " and spoke of his " Romea-Richard and Caesar."

Return from Parnasus, an anonymous production of *c.* 1602, pays glowing tribute to "Sweete Mr. Shakespeare." The author boldly declares " Let this duncified worlde esteeme of Spencer and Chancer, I'le worshippe sweet Mr. Shakespeare, and to honoure him will lay his venus and Adonis under my pillowe as we reade of one (I doe not well remember his name, but I am sure he was a kinge) slept with Homer under his bed's heade." Elsewhere the author speaks of the " Vniversity men who pen plaies well " but speaks assertively " why heres our fellow Shakespeare puts them all downe, I and Ben Jonson too."

This shows that at least the author of the Return from Parnasus actually realised that Shakespeare was the greatest genius among the living poets of England but it cannot be regarded as representative. We do not actually know whether this opinion was at all critical or whether it was a mere passing remark uttered sportively.

In John Bodenham's *Belvedere* (1600) we get the following list of the ' Moderne and extant poets :'

John Marstone
Christopher Marlowe
Beniamin Johnson
William Shakespeare

Thomas Nashe
Thomas Kidde
George Peele
Robert Greene.

---

[1] *Return from Parnasus IV. 1.*
[2] *Return from Parnasus IV. 3.*

This list significantly proves that Bodenham could not accept our poet as the greatest among his contemporaries.

In 1605 William Camden—the famous teacher of Ben Jonson observed:

"These may suffice for some Poeticall descriptions of our ancient Poets, if I would come to our time, what a world could I present to you out of Sir Philipp Sidney, Ed. Spencer, Samuel Daniel, Hugh Holland, Ben Johnson, Th. Campion, Mich. Drayton, George Chapman, Iohn Marston, William Shakespeare and other most pregnant witts of these our times, whom succeeding ages may iustly admire."

This is, indeed, an appreciation of Shakespeare but the author fails to measure the full height of Shakespeare's greatness!

Like Bodenham and Camden, John Webster (1612), Drummond (c. 1614), Edmund Howes (1615), all name Shakespeare but along with a number of lesser poets. Thus Shakespeare was regarded *as one of the many in a group of successful dramatists.*

Ben Jonson referred to Shakespeare and his works several times before the publication of 1st folio. Some of them are sarcastical and anonymous which have been conjecturally taken to refer to Shakespeare. At times Jonson depreciated this one or that of Shakespeare's plays—found fault with *Tales* and *Tempests*, with *Ieronimo* or *Andronicus*, but perhaps he was the only contemporary poet who could realise the real greatness of Shakespeare. In his *Conversations with William Drummond* of Hawthornden between December, 1618 and January, 1619 at Edinburgh, to which he undertook a pedestrian journey Jonson expressed the view that "Shakespeare wanted Arte." This is indeed an honest opinion of a great classical scholar whose notion of Arte was certainly tinted by his erudite scholarship.

The real appreciation of Shakespeare began from the publication of the 1st folio in 1623, where Jonson gave the greatest of laudatory verses in memory of Shakespeare as yet unsurpassed in course of these 317 years:

> "Soule of the Age!
> The Applause! delight! the wonder of our stage
> My Shakespeare rise.

Again—

> Triumph, my Britaine, thou hast one to showe,
> To whom all Scenes of Europe homage owe
> He was not of an age, but for all time!

The canonisation of Shakespeare was thus set on foot by Jonson.

From these remarks of Jonson, seven years after our poet's death, people began to think that the petty dramatist who was popular no doubt with the theatre-going public had some intrinsic merit in what he wrote for the stage In fact the reputation of Shakespeare began to grow after 1623, and the whole credit of making Shakespeare widely popular would certainly go to Heminge and Condell who not only published the complete works of Shakespeare but found out a real advocate of Shakespeare's greatness in Ben Jonson. Of course about 4 or 5 years earlier, some fraudulent publishers resolved to bring out a Shakaspearean collection but surely they attempted to do so not out of reverence to our poet, but utterly from the principle of money-making. They could not realise the real merit of Shakespearean productions and bothered much about the 'sale proceeds' than about the permanency of Shakespeare's works. At the first sight it may be regarded as contradictory to what actual facts point out but one must not forget that in the past these 'rascally publishers' did not hesitate to thrust upon Shakespeare other man's work, no matter even if it come from the pen of a third or fourth rate poet. Sometimes they would take stenographic notes from a dramatic representation, would secure the services of a play-patcher and play-dresser and would build up a spurious book written by Shakespeare. This book would certainly sell well and their aim was fulfilled. How then could they understand as to what Shakespeare was? Popularity and permanency are not identical!

In his strictly private jottings not meant for publication Jonson records of Shakespeare "I loved the man almost to idolatry." This unmistakably points to the fact that Shakespeare's greatness was realised by Jonson. [*Timber* or *Discoveries*, pub. in 1641].

With the march of years the enthusiasm over Shakespeare's dramas gradually evaporated off and there were few votaries of Shakespeare after the civil wars and 1709 is the year of the publication of Shakespeare's first biography by Poet Laureate Nicholas Rowe, prefixed to his edition of Shakespeare.

The present writer has no intention, in the present article, to enter into the criticism of what is known today as Shakespeare myths nor does he propose to scrutinise each and every one of the references made by various persons after 1616. But to understand the actual state of Shakespearean appreciation during the poet's lifetime one has to consider a few references made after his death. In 1640 L. Digges[1] who joined earlier in Shakespeare laudation along with Ben Jonson again spoke "of never dying Shakespeare." But in 1624 Lieutenant Hammond, a traveller at Stratford, makes the following passing remarks on Shakespeare:

"In that dayes trauell we came by Stratford vpon Auon, where in the Church in that Towne there are some Monuments which Church was built by Archbishop Stratford ; Those worth obseruing and of which wee tooke notice of were these... A neat Monument of that famous English Poet, Mr. William Shakespeere ; who was borne heere.

And one of an old Gentleman a Batchelor, Mr. Combe, vpon whose name, the sayd Poet, did merrily fann vp some witty, and facetious verses, which time would nott giue vs leaue to sacke vp."

This shows, indeed, that however much applauded by Jonson in 1623 Shakespeare's fame was dwindling down by 1634.

Thomas Plume—Archdeacon of Rochester in *c* 1657 writes thus of Shakespeare :

"He was a glovers son—Sir John Mennis saw once his old Father in his shop—a merry cheekd old man—that said—Will was a good Honest Fellow, but he durst have crackt a jeast with him at any time."

John Ward, who was vicar of Stratford, writes sometime in 1661-3 in the following lines:

"I have heard yt Mr. Shakespeare was a natural wit, without any art at all ; hee frequented ye plays all his younger time, but in his elder days lived at Stratford: and supplied ye stage with 2 plays every year, and for yt had an allowance so large, yt hee spent att ye Rate of a 1,000l a year, as I have heard.

Remember to peruse Shakespeares plays, and bee versed in them, yt I may not bee ignorant in yt matter......

Shakespear, Drayton, and Ben Jhonson, had a merry meeting, and itt seems drank too hard, for Shakespear died of a feavour there contracted......"

There is no good in multiplying the instances of such passing reference to the greatest of English poets whom one day Thomas

---

[1] Be sure, our Shake-Speare, thou const never dye, But crown'd with Lawrell, liue eternally. Digges—From eighth preliminary leaf to the first folio.

Thorpe, the publisher of his sonnets in 1609, referred to as the Ever-living poet and whom Ben Jonson assured of homage from the whole of Europe.

No doubt then that among his contemporaries Shakespeare was a popular dramatist—nay a great one, but the actual magnitude of his greatness was unknown even to the successive generations. Could the English nation realise at the outset what Shakespeare actually produced, they certainly would not allow him to die unsung, if not "unhonoured."

We cannot summarise this chapter better than in the words of Prof. Ward[1] who holds:

"Thus, the evidence which we possess on the subject tends to show that the reputation enjoyed by Shakespeare in his lifetime was limited to a more or less genial recognition of his merits on the part of a few patrons and on that of some of his literary contemporaries,—chiefly fellow dramatists,—and to what may be termed a general preference for his plays, as compared with those of other writers, on the part of the constituents of the theatrical public. But although this the theatrical public must have largely increased in London during the earlier half of his career, the attacks upon the stage recommenced towards the close of the century, and indeed the spirit which prompted them had never slept. The classes moved by this spirit were those upon whom more than upon any other the future of England depended, and to whose tastes and feelings the progress of a popular literature must always largely accommodate itself. In a word, the middle classes of the nation, wherever, as more especially in London, they were brought into contact with the stage, became more and more hostile towards it. The interest in dramatic literature could not but suffer accordingly and the advance of the appreciation of the merits of our greatest national dramatist be retarded."

---

[1] A. W. Ward, *A History of English Dramatic Literature*, Vol. I, pp. 506-7.

THE RELATION OF KNOWER TO KNOWN

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IN this paper I propose to discuss some modern realistic theories of the relation between knowledge and its object. This relation is in one sense the best known of all relations, but in another sense it is the least known. It may be thought by some that the relation of knower to known is the simplest and most clear of all relations between objects or between minds and external things. We may not always easily understand how things act upon one another or how they interact with minds. But we seem to feel no difficulty in understanding how they are related to our knowledge. For a thing, to become related to knowledge is just to be known by us. When we know anything as it is, we say that it stands related to our knowledge or it enters into the knowledge relation. For common sense and some philosophic systems, knowledge is a direct revelation of objects. According to the theory of naive realism, objects exist independently of all knowledge. The existence of things does not in any way depend on their being known by the mind. Things exist with all their qualities even when no mind knows them. Although things possess an independent existence of their own, we have in knowledge a direct consciousness of them. The objects of knowledge are directly presented to consciousness and are precisely what they appear to be. Knowledge or consciousness is like a beam of light which illuminates the world of objects and enables us to apprehend things as they really are. But the faith of the naive or natural realist is shaken by some rude facts. If all knowledge be a direct presentation of objects as they really are, what are we to say with regard to the objects of dream, illusion and hallucination? These cannot be said to exist as real things 'out there' in the real world. Rather, we should say that they are ideas or images of the mind which are wrongly taken for external objects. It is therefore possible for us to have experiences which do not directly reveal any real object. These considerations have led some philosophers like Descartes and Locke to introduce the theory of epistemological dualism. According to this, the mind never directly perceives anything external to itself. What it knows directly are its own states and processes—sensations, perceptions, images, ideas, etc. But from certain experiences of the mind we can infer the existence of external objects as their causes. On this view, therefore, knowledge is not a direct presentation of objects, but a representation of them through the images and ideas which they produce in the mind. Our mind is like a mirror which reflects external objects in it and thereby gives us copies of things, but not the things themselves. Although this theory of representationism helps us to get over some of the difficulties of natural realism, yet it creates fresh difficulties for itself. While the fact of error may be partially explained by it as a wrong representation of real objects, it fails to prove the existence of any external reality. If the mind is to infer the existence of external objects from certain characters of our experiences; then it must have somehow and somewhere a direct cognition of some external object as related to those characters. But for the direct experience of an external object, the idea of external reality would not at all arise in our mind. To one unacquainted with an external object, ideas of the mind would not appear to be copies of external things, just as a photograph cannot be recognised as the photo of a particular person by one who is not acquainted with him. Thus we see that neither the theory of natural realism nor that of epistemological dualism can satisfactorily explain the relation between knowledge and its object and that it raises a real problem which does not admit of easy solution.

In the modern schools of realism fresh attempts have been made to tackle the above problem. Modern realists are united in their opposition to idealism, although they differ among themselves with regard to their theory of knowledge. They emphatically declare that idealism in any form—Berkeleian, Hegelian or otherwise—suffers from an inherent incapacity to explain the independent existence of the world of objects, so clearly testified to by experience. Further, it logically leads to subjectivism and ends in solipsism. That the objects of knowledge exist independently of the knowing mind is the ineluctable verdict of all unsophisticated experience. The only other question that we are to consider seriously is: *How* is knowledge related to the known object which exists independently of it? The answer given to this question by the American neo-realists is in principle the same as that of the natural realist. It may even be said that neo-realism is, generally speaking, a revival of the old theory of natural realism and an attempt to remedy its defects. It is a theory of direct realism which unreservedly accepts the doctrine of presentationism to solve the problems of knowledge. For it knowledge has a direct relation to its object. 'The content of knowledge is numerically identical with the thing known. Things when consciousness is had of them become themselves contents of consciousness; and the same things thus figure both in the external world and in the manifold which introspection reveals.'[1] Knowledge or consciousness may thus be said to be constituted by its objects, and we need not admit the existence of mind or consciousness as a reality distinct from objects. What we call consciousness is not any distinct subjective existence, but only a particular grouping of objects, defined by the specific response of the nervous system. Thus Holt defines consciousness as the 'cross-section of the universe, selected by the specific response of the nervous system.' Just as a searchlight, by playing over a landscape and illuminating now this object and now that, defines a new collection of objects, so the specific response of the organism, equipped with a central nervous system, makes a definite collection of objects from the environment. Consciousness is the cross-section or collection of objects defined by the specific response of the organism.[2] It follows that when we know anything what we directly get is not a mental content which refers to the thing, but just the thing itself in its real characters. It may be that sometimes contrary and even contradictory characters are perceived in the same thing by different persons or by the same person at different times. This, however, presents no serious difficulty to the neo-realist who holds that the same thing may have contrary and even contradictory characters. This is clearly shown by innumerable instances of objective contradiction among the forces and laws of nature. In dream, illusion and hallucination we have experience of certain objects which are unreal and false, and are contradicted by true knowledge. But for that we should not say that these objects are subjective and dependent on the experiencing mind. Even these objects *are* and possess being or subsistence. 'Everything that is, is and is as it is.' The unreal and the illusory are not subjective fictions of the mind. They are as objective and independent of experience as real objects of the world. The distinction between the real and the unreal is that while the former not only *is* but also exists in real space and time, the latter only *is* and does not exist in real space-time. The unreal, therefore, subsists and does not exist. Nevertheless, it is not mental or subjective; it subsists in its own right in the all-inclusive universe of being, and its subsistence is not a status conferred on it by any mind. It follows that in illusory experience the same thing will have to be credited with contradictory characters like the real and the unreal. To see silver in a shell is to apprehend an unreal character which contradicts the real character of a thing. But how can contradictory characters both have being in the same thing? To this the neo-realists reply that the case of illusion and the like is paralleled by that of mirrored space. In any mirrored space we see how sundry mirrored objects occupy the same spatial positions as are occupied by other 'real' objects situated behind the mirror. Similarly, the solid sphere, seen by looking at two flat disks through a stereoscope, is neither a genuine occupant of the physical world nor a purely subjective product. It is a subsistent object which is unreal but not subjective or mental. So with all other illusory objects. By putting them in the realm of being or subsistence the neo-realists grant them an objective status and at the same time distinguish them from real and existent objects.[3]

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[1] *Cf. The New Realism*, pp. 34-35.

[2] *Vide The New Realism*, pp. 353-54; *The Concept of Consciousness*, pp. 181-82.

It will appear from the brief account given above that the American neo-realists adhere to the old theory of natural realism in so far as they hold that knowledge is directly related to its object and that all objects of knowledge are independent of the knowing mind. In their anxiety to ensure the independence of objects some of them reduce knowledge or consciousness to the collection of objects defined by the specific response of the nervous organism. Even the objects of erroneous experience like illusion are held to be as objective as real things, although they do not, like the latter, exist but only subsist. The distinction between the existent and the subsistent is the neo-realist's special contribution to old realism, which is calculated to meet the objections usually brought against it. If all that is experienced is objective and belongs to real things, we have to explain how contrary characters like red and green, or contradictory ones like the real and the unreal can belong to the same thing as they seem to do in actual experience. The neo-realist explanation is that contrary or contradictory characters belong to the same thing in the same way in which opposite forces are held in equilibrium or mirrored objects are in the same space with other real objects. But it is doubtful if the neo-realist theory is really more satisfactory than the old theory of natural realism. In its attempt to overcome the difficulties of the old theory it makes certain assumptions which in effect entangles it in the same or perhaps greater difficulties. If 'everything that is, is and is as it is,' we have to admit that the same thing is both red and green at the same time, since it may be perceived to be such by different perceivers. That a thing may be red and green at different parts of it we can easily understand. And that the same part of it may be *seen* as red and green by different persons in different bodily conditions is also intelligible to us only if we grant that the perceived colours are relative to the sensibility of the perceivers. But that such contrary characters belong to the thing itself independently of the perceiving minds is something which we can hardly understand. The instances of objective contradiction cited by the neo-realist do not really prove the co-presence of opposite characters in the same thing. When two equally strong forces act on a body from opposite directions and keep it at rest, we cannot say that it actually moves up and down at the same time. What happens is that the opposed forces neutralise each other and leave the body in a state of rest. We do not see how under such circumstances the same thing may be said to have two contradictory or even contrary characters. The neo-realist's invention of the world of subsistents to secure the independence of illusory objects appears to be a makeshift which does not really serve its purpose. What we have to explain in sensory illusion is the perception of an unreal character in a thing, which appears as an *existent physical* character of it. This, however, cannot be explained by the fabrication of any *subsistent* characters which are non-existent and *non-physical.* The example of mirrored objects, which are said to occupy the same spatial positions with other real objects behind the mirror, does not really support the neo-realist's case. Mirrored objects are none other than the physical objects reflected in the mirror. They are not separate entities which occupy the space of the mirror If they were really so, they must be physical and not etherial like the neo-realist's subsistents. Further, if all the characters perceived by any knower really belong to the things known, there can be no reason for our treating any knowledge as erroneous. Rather, we will have to admit that illusion is as good as any true perception and that we are wrong in supposing illusion to be illusory. Finally, the neo-realist's attempt to explain consciousness as a cross-section of the universe is as futile as it is absurd. If consciousness be but a collection of objects made by the specific response of the nervous system, it should appear as 'out there' in the external world and not as within the organism. In truth, however, consciousness cannot be such a collection of objects. The organism may specifically respond to different objects at different times. But to become *conscious* of any of these objects or of a collection of them all, it must be either endowed with mental qualities or intimately connected with the mind. Instead of saying that consciousness is a collection of objects, we should say that any collection of objects requires a conscious mind. The craze for objectivity in all matters, which is so characteristic os American neo-realism, has perhaps laid it open to more serious chargef than the common-sense realism of old.

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[3] *Vide The New Realism*, pp. 358-70.

In critical realism, which is another important school of modern realism, the problem of the relation between knowledge and its object is approached neither from the objective standpoint of natural realism nor from the subjective standpoint of dualistic realism. According to it, the data of knowledge, or what are directly given in experience, are not the objects or the qualities of objects as is held by the natural and the new realists. Nor are they ideas or other states of the mind as the dualistic realists suppose. On the other hand, they are certain character-complexes, essences or logical entities which are irresistibly taken to be the characters of existent objects. These data do not *exist* like the physical objects to which they are referred or like the mental states to which they are presented. While both physical things and mental states have existence in space and time, the data of knowledge are logical entities which have no such existence. A thing seen by me exists in space and time, and bears certain spatio-temporal relations to other things. But the visual datum which brings it before me is neither here nor there, and it has no spatial or temporal relations to other visual data. In any knowledge there are three factors, namely, a mental state, a datum and an object. Neo-realism is involved in certain grave difficulties because it ignores the distinction between the object which is known, the datum through which it is known, and the mental state or mind by which it is known. It makes an attempt to explain all knowledge in terms only of objects and therefore fails to solve the problems of relativity and error in knowledge. Consciousness cannot be reduced to a relation among objects. The appearance of the data of knowledge cannot be explained by the specific response of the brain or the nervous system to the influence of physical objects. Brain-states cannot account for the cognition of objects unless we admit the existence of mental states distinct from them. But not only are mental states distinct from objects ; the data of knowledge also must be recognised as distinct from either. A datum of experience neither exists in space and time, nor has it any causal efficacy like mental states and physical objects. Again mental states have not the characteristics of a datum. We may have a perceptual datum like " a round-table-about-three-feet-high," but the implied mental state is neither round nor about three feet in height. But if the data of knowledge are neither mental nor physical, how is it that they appear as ' out there ' is space ? The critical realists would say that they are so imagined by the mind. The data of perception, for example, appear when the organism (*i.e.* the mind-body) is affected by a physical object and imagines them as characters of the object in those vivid ways which we call " seeing," " feeling," etc. All knowledge of objects is mediated by the appearance of some data, perceptual or otherwise. This, however, does not mean that what we know are not the objects, but only our ideas about them. Just as I know an absent friend immediately through my thought of him, so we know objects directly through the data by which they are presented. The data are the means by which we know objects in the same way in which the senses are the means of perceiving physical things. No one touches a thing indirectly because he has to touch it with his hand. Similarly, the objects of knowledge are not indirectly known simply because we have to know them through some data. In true knowledge the data are either the characters of objects or produced by certain characteristics in them. In error, on the other hand, the data do not correspond to the real characteristics of the object. Thus knowledge will be true if it asserts the object to be constituted as it really is, otherwise it becomes erroneous. And the truth or falsity of knowledge is tested by the common methods of experience and reasoning which are regularly used by scientists, historians, judges and business men. That there is an independent world of objects transcending experience we cannot, of course, logically prove. It is a matter of instinctive belief with us. But although we cannot demonstrate its existence, we can at least pragmatically justify our belief in it. We feel instinctively that the data of experience or appearances are the characters of real things and react to them accordingly, and we find that this belief works in life.[4]

It will be observed here that critical realism differs from neo-realism on certain fundamental points. Unlike the latter, it holds that knowledge is a relation between mind and external objects mediated through certain data or given appearances. It is not, as some neo-realists hold, a relation between the brain or the nervous system and some independent object. It holds also that knowledge is not directly related to the thing known in the sense that the data of knowledge are actual portions or qualities of the thing itself. The data, or what we directly get when we know anything, are certain character-complexes or logical essences which are not identical with, but may also be, the characters of the thing known. In the case of secondary qualities, however, the data of knowledge cannot be the characters of things. But the hypothesis of character-complexes interposed between the knowing mind and the known thing constitutes at once the strength and the weakness of critical realism. This makes it allied to the position of epistemological dualism with its concomitant doctrine of representationism or the 'copy theory of ideas.' While it may help the critical realist to explain the facts of error and illusion, it seriously handicaps him in the attempt to explain true knowledge of things. The character-complexes are logical universals, while the things are spatial or temporal particulars. If this be so, we do not see how any character-complex can also be a character of the thing. If the character-complexes are to be also the characters of things, they must somehow be spatio-temporal entities which, *ex hypothesi*, they are not. Hence our knowledge of things cannot but be indirect and representative in character. What things are we can never directly know. We must always know them through the data or character-complexes which appear immediately before our mind. But in the absence of a direct knowledge of things at some point, we cannot even be sure that any knowledge truly represents any thing or that there is any independent world of things at all. In fact, the critical realist also admits that the existence of the independent world of objects is only pragmatically justifiable, but not logically deducible from the character-complexes given in experience. He, however, makes an inconsistent compromise with realism and leaves the world of things on an insecure basis of instinctive faith. It would have been perhaps more consistent for him to say that the world of objects is a construction of the mind from certain given experiences and with a view to meet the needs of our practical life. He virtually admits the basic principles of such a view of the world when he says that the data of knowledge (which do not exist) appear 'out there' in space because they are so *imagined* by the mind and that the truth of knowledge is to be tested by the harmony of different experiences, and finally refuses to risk any theory with regard to the ultimate nature of reality.

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[4] *Vide Essays in Critical Realism*, pp. 3-32, 85-113.

Among British neo-realists Samuel Alexander formulated a theory of knowledge which occupies an intermediate position between American neo-realism on the one hand, and critical realism on the other. It agrees with the former in holding that knowledge is directly related to its object, but differs from it in according distinct reality to mind or consciousness. And while it agrees with critical realism with regard to the reality of mind, it does not accept the critical realist's hypothesis of character-complexes as the necessary data of all knowledge. For Alexander, knowledge or cognition is not a unique relation, but an instance of the simplest and most universal of all relations. Knowledge is just the compresence between mind and an external object. Any knowledge may be analysed into two terms and their relation to one another. The terms are the act of mind or the awareness and the object of which it is aware; and the relation between them is that they are together or compresent in the world of experience.[5] The object of knowledge is independent of the mind. It is true that the object cannot be known without a mind to know it. But from this we should not conclude that objects are dependent on the mind for their existence. What objects owe to mind is their being known, and not their being existent facts. The colour, pressure and other qualities of a thing are so many objects which exist in their native character in the thing itself independently of their being known by us. A thing is a synthesis of all the objects or appearances which it presents to the experiencing mind. But neither the objects nor their synthesis is made by the mind; rather they are found in the thing itself. A thing is in itself a portion of Space-Time with a certain configuration and a plan of combination of its constituent motions.

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[5] *Vide Space, Time, and Deity*, Vol. I, p. 11; Vol. II, p. 82.

But for our experience it is a synthesis of appearances or a whole of presentations to the mind. There are real appearances, mere appearances as well as illusory appearances. Real appearances are parts or partial revelations of the thing to the mind, and they belong to the thing itself. These may vary according to the different positions of the same or different observers. Mere appearances are those which do not belong to the thing itself, but arise from its connection with other things. Illusory appearances are due neither to the thing nor to its relation to other things, but to the mind which introduces new objects into the thing. All kinds of appearances are, as appearance, on the same level ; but while real and mere appearances belong to the things apprehended, illusory appearances do not so belong to them.[6] Hence it is that we have error and illusion. One idea or belief is true when it is confirmed by the coherent body of standard beliefs and ideas established by social intercourse, while ideas which are incoherent with true ideas are false or erroneous. But the distinction between coherence and incoherence is ultimately determined by reality itself. It is by experience of reality and experiment on it that we distinguish between one group of ideas as true and the other as false. Thus truth and error are products of the social mind under the guidance of reality.[7]

Alexander's theory of the relation between knowledge and its object seems to combine two incompatible lines of thought. Sometimes he would frankly believe with the natural realist that knowledge is directly related to the thing known and apprehends its real characters. But in the actual working out of his theory he lapses at certain points into a sort of representationism which brings it nearer to critical realism. A thing, he tells us, is in itself a complexity of motions occupying a portion of Space-Time. The colour, pressure and other qualities of a thing are its appearances to the mind. These are called real appearances as distinguished from others which appear through its relation to other things and are therefore described as mere appearances. In addition to these two, there is a third kind of appearance which is said to be due to the mind and is therefore branded as illusory. But if knowledge be simply the compresence of the mind with the thing known and an awareness of it in its real characters, we do not see how anything but motions should have been perceived. The compresence of my face with a mirror (held before it) would give just an image of the face as it is. If there be any difference between the face and its image, then that must be accounted for by the mirror. Similarly, if the complexity of motions puts on such appearances as colour, touch, etc., in its relation to the mind, we are to say that the mind is not passively compresent with, but makes certain contributions to, the complexity of motions in order to constitute the concrete object of knowledge. Alexander concedes this point partially when he says that even the real appearance of a thing may vary relatively to the position of the observer. If it be held that the varying real appearances belong to the thing independently of the mind, we have to admit that a thing may have contrary and even contradictory characters, which we have already seen to be logically indefensible. Further, when Alexander speaks of a thing as a *synthesis* of all its appearances to the mind, it is implied that the thing is a construction of the mind on the basis of certain given presentations. A synthesis of different experiences so as to constitute one thing can hardly be explained by anything but the synthetic activity of the experiencing mind. In the case of illusory appearances it is explicitly admitted by Alexander that they are due to the introduction of foreign characters into a thing by the mind. This, however, does not accord very well with his other view that a thing is a synthesis of *all* its appearances and that the synthesis is not made but discovered by the mind. To be consistent with his general position in philosophy one should say that the objects of knowledge are constructed by the mind out of certain sensations produced by different kinds of motions in Space and Time. This will be more in harmony with his account of truth and error as products of the social mind. If all objects of knowledge are regarded as synthesis of experiences brought about by the mind, we can understand how knowledge will be true when it coheres with established social ideas and beliefs, and how otherwise it will become erroneous. If, however, objects are as they appear, independently of our mind, it must be correspondence to the object and not the coherence of experiences that is to determine the truth or falsity of knowledge.

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[6] *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 105-6, 183f., 211f.
[7] *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 251f.

We are thus led to a view of the relation between knowledge and its objects, which is different from the realistic theories discussed above. For us knowledge is not constituted by its objects in the sense that one object like the table is known when it is related to another object like the brain or the nervous system. Knowledge implies the relation of an object to some mind which is distinct from it. The relation between the two is not mediated by any data like the critical realist's character-complexes which may or may not be the characters of the thing known. There is actually no evidence for the appearance of such logical essences in between the knowing mind and the known thing. Rather, we should say that the data which appear before the mind are the constituents of the thing as known. Knowledge may thus be said to be directly related to its object. This, however, does not mean that in knowledge the mind is passively compresent with and aware of objects which possess the presented data independently of their relation to mind. On the other hand, we maintain that the data or appearances owe it to the mind that they are parts or constituents of the known object. An object like the orange is constituted by certain visual, tactual and other data, so related among themselves as to make a definite whole. We may also say that the orange is a synthesis, in a particular form, of certain visual, tactual and other qualities. But apart from relation to some mind like ours there would be no synthesis of these sensible qualities so as to constitute one object called orange Visual, tactual or other qualities, taken in isolation, are unmeaning and inarticulate sensations which stand for no actual object of knowledge. The objects we know are not such blind sensations, taken severally or collectively. On the other hand, they are definite wholes of parts or significant syntheses of certain presentations. Hence we say that an object is a construction of the mind conditioned by certain sense impressions. The objects of knowledge are not mere sensations, but what the mind *means* by its sensations. Sometimes we see faces on a distant wall where there are a few irregular pencil marks. All of us enjoy the beauty of the landscape exhibited by the cinematograph. These cases fairly illustrate the way in which the mind can construct objects out of given presentations by imputing certain meanings to them. But the distinction between real objects on the one hand and unreal or illusory objects on the other, is that while in the former the meanings are, for reasons we cannot discuss here, universal and necessary, in the latter they are peculiar to the individual himself or to the society in which he lives. Thus knowledge will be true or false according as its objects are real or unreal in this sense. All objects of knowledge, however, are constructed by the mind in some sense or other. We conclude, therefore, that knowledge is not, as the neo-realist would say, constituted by its object, but that the object is constituted by the knowing of it.

PLOTINUS

A LINK BETWEEN EAST AND WEST

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IN the *Enneads* of Plotinus, as in the *Bhagavad Gita*, the life of the soul is a cycle of births according to individual merit. Plotinus agrees with Plato that a kind of memory lingers from one incarnation to another, expressed in the soul's "innate ideas." Men are of three kinds according to the particular element or faculty dominant in their past lives. The perverse man, like mob government, is dominated by his chaotic animal faculty, similar to *tamas-guna*. The commonplace man, like representative government, responds chiefly to his passionate human faculty, similar to *rajas-guna*. The virtuous man, like aristocratic government, listens to his divine rational faculty, similar to *sattva-guna*. But the worldly life of *sansara*, whether good or bad, is only appearance. If the virtuous man is to find salvation, he must go beyond good and evil; he must withdraw from worldly interests completely. While the *Gita* recognizes caste regulations and other worldly duties, it insists that man's supreme duty is to save his soul by practising devotion to the unattached Self. In like manner Plotinus declares that in seeking salvation the soul is only seeking to recover its own lost identity in the Absolute.

THE *Bhakti* OF PLOTINUS

Plotinus sees three paths to the Absolute: the way of duty, similar to *karma-yoga*; the way of knowledge, similar to *jnana-yoga*, but involving a more elaborate intellectual discipline; and the way of emotional life, similar to *bhakti-yoga*. Since these ways follow one another, they are better termed three stages of the one way. Duty prepares the soul for the journey, knowledge guides it along the path, and loving-devotion leads it to the very presence of the King.

Following Plato and Aristotle, Plotinus holds that virtue is of two kinds: the lower, negative virtue of ethical purification, like *karma-yoga*; and the higher, positive virtue of intellectual possession, like *jnana-yoga.* Loving-devotion is not a virtue at all, but the free activity of the soul above virtue. Ethical purification is of no value in itself. It functions as a preparatory discipline, removing the material obstacles to the enjoyment of intelligible good. Thus domestic, industrial, and political duties are to be performed not for the welfare of humanity, but for the health of the individual. But health likewise has no value of its own. It merely serves to prevent interruption of the soul's spiritual interests. The moral life is but a negative discipline, the handmaid of mystical longing. It unites the individual soul to the World Soul, but cannot take it up to the realm of Spirit. The political virtues, in the view of Plotinus, enable us to live with the world, but the intellectual virtues enable us to live without it. [1]

As moral virtue unites the individual soul with the World Soul, intellectual virtue (the dialectical treatment of pure concepts of Being) carries the soul into the realm of Spirit. [2] But intellect cannot give the soul access to the Absolute, for it deals with distinctions, and distinctions cannot abide in the One. Here Plotinus agrees with the *Gita* that *samadhi,* or the mystic state, is the final stage of the soul's journey. Conscious contemplation of the Spiritual World passes into super-conscious realization of the Absolute. Mysticism must supplant logic. *Bhakti* must fulfil *jnana.* In ecstatic faith and love the soul becomes God. [3]

According to the *Bhagavad Gita,* it is God's grace that arouses the soul to love God. We love God because he first loved us. But Plotinus rejects the notion of God's love. The soul, indeed, should prepare herself to love God ; but God cannot love the soul. For God is pure immateriality, which can suffer no emotion, no action, no thought. Here Plotinus maintains Aristotle's conception of God as an immaterial and transcendent goal.

THE WORLD

Since the human soul is essentially one with the Absolute, its ascent is only a recovery of its real and original position. But the descent of the soul and the production of the world from the Absolute involves something strange and unreal. Self-sufficient, the One yet gives birth to something not itself. Ineffable reality becomes *elan vital* creating the world. The Source of Being deposits itself in Being, Being devolves into Becoming, and Becoming vanishes into Non-Being ! Plotinus is more interested in the soul's union with God than in God's creation of the world. Indeed, he is baffled by creation. When the Absolute is blessed without the world, why should it produce it? When the human soul has reached its goal in the Absolute, why should it leave this goal for the world ? In other words, why should the Absolute send the soul down into distinct and material existence ? Why should the world ever exist ?

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[1] See Thomas Taylor, *The Select Works of Plotinus,* pp. 3-7, *Ennead* 2. 2. 1-3.

[2] The same, pp. 14-18, *Ennead* 1.3.1-3.

See W. R. Inge, *The Philosophy of Plotinus,* pp. 129-130, *Ennead* 6. 7. 22 and following.

Plotinus is plainly perplexed over this problem raised by his own philosophical position. While maintaining that distinctions do not really exist, he is compelled to recognize that the world, or cosmos, must be explained. So he takes refuge in the principle of *emanation.* God is a river so full that it overflows its banks. [4] He is the sun whose perpetual radiance surrounds it without leaving it. Whenever anything comes to perfection, it procreates. Protesting that all images are inadequate, the Graeco-Roman thinker strives to show how the One, without lessening itself and without either using or opposing any outside substance, yet produces a different and lesser nature. The world arises only when the Absolute somehow generates Spirit, and Spirit in turn generates the World Soul which creates the world.

MATTER

The realm of Being (including Spirit, the World Soul, and the World) is produced from the absolute One above it, and is snuffed out in the non-existent "Matter" below it. As the One is not Being but its Source, so Matter is not Being but its extinction. It is " Non-Being." The One, in its descending emanations, realizes every possible grade of Being. Each realm, while remaining itself, passes to the realm below it all the perfection it can possibly transmit from the One. Yet each perfection is also a lapse, for the good handed on to the realm below is always less than the good received from the realm above. Hence the decrease of perfection means the increase of imperfection, until the lowest realm is full of imperfection—that is, utterly imperfect and absolutely degraded. This lowest realm, which is strictly not a realm, is called Matter.

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[4] See Thomas Taylor, *The Select Works of Plotinus*, p. 253-55, *Ennead* 5. 2. 1.

As the lapse of Being means both a transmission of perfection and an increase of imperfection, so is the descent of the soul both good and bad. On the one hand, it is good for the soul to come down, for it does so with the purpose of setting in order the realms below it. On the other hand, its descent is bad, for it is forced down by the grim wheel of destiny; or it shrinks back into individuality; or it becomes enamoured of things below it. With the soul, as with the world, the theory of emanation is one of contradiction and obscurity.

Following the tradition of Aristotle, Plotinus regards Matter as an eternal, underlying nature, a residence or receptacle for forms, the potentiality of all Being. Following a certain tradition in Plato, he considers it void of Being, and in want of good—in short, pure Non-Being and utter Evil. But he agrees with both Plato and Aristotle that Form and Matter are two separate and opposite realms.

GREEK DUALISM

Plotinus' metaphysics is a curious mixture of non-dualism and dualism. His non-dualism seems to come from the Orient. His dualism is a Greek inheritance from Plato and Aristotle, who saw an ultimate opposition between Form and Matter. Form is noble and active. Matter is ignoble and passive. Form is intelligible Being; Matter is unintelligible and Non-Being. Form is not the appearance of Matter. They are complementary and irreducible. To Plotinus, Form is Being, while God is Super-Being, above Form, and Matter is Non-Being, below Form. Being itself is thus torn with dualism. It is eternally an offspring of God, eternally a victim of Matter.

Such a philosophy can only spread confusion. It has baffled the West. Its ambiguity has penetrated theology both Catholic and Protestant, and made official religion a riddle. Its non-dualism, maintaining that the soul is essentially one with God, is perennially attractive. Its dualism, on the contrary, repels the modern man. It tells us to be ashamed of the body on the ground that body is quite external to soul. It tells us that only certain men, under certain unknown conditions, can realize God. It tells us that God cannot love, think, or act. It tells us, finally, that Matter, the foundation of the world and of human life, is utterly evil.

Such theoretical dualism is parallel to the practical dualism in ancient Greek society between the " noble " citizens and the " ignoble " slaves. The citizens, especially the aristocrats, are Form. The slaves are Matter. Since God is obviously manifested by such an unjust society, his revelation is confined to rare moments of ecstasy when the wretchedness of the world can be entirely forgotten.

If Plotinus could have extricated himself from inherited dualism, he could have played fair with the idea that God is the One—that is, the only principle by which the world is to be ultimately explained. He could have identified the One with Matter, just as *Advaita Vedanta* sees God as the material, as well as the efficient and final, cause of the world. Form, or the world of experience, would then be simply an appearance of the divine substance. When we realize God so conceived, we are inspired by a boundless love for all creation.

Plotinus and Jesus

Through Plotinus non-dualism entered the West from the Orient. But it was obscured by Greek dualism. In the meantime, practical non-dualism had sprung up in Jesus of Nazareth, and was making its way westward. The Christian theologian Origen, living at the same time as Plotinus, and in the same city (Alexandria), was yet preaching God's love for the world. While Plotinus gave support to a dualistic culture staggering into senility, Origen was expressing a young faith surging forward to spiritual conquest. This faith came from Jesus, whose life and original teaching was virtually a manifestation of *advaita* philosophy.

Origen, unfortunately, was not a Sankara. If *advaita* was obscured by the Greek-bred Plotinus, the example and message of Jesus was likewise obscured by the Greek-bred Origen. But not so much, for the influence of Jesus was strong. Even the Platonic and Aristotelian philosophy of the later creeds and church theologians could not quite blot out the non-dualistic meaning of the Nazarene carpenter. And biblical scholarship has now given us an historical Jesus who needs *advaita* philosophy to establish him firmly and properly in world culture. The most significant link between East and West will not be forged until the democratic Jesus is interpreted by *Advaita Vedanta*.

Jesus, not Plotinus, is the one through whom non-dualism made some impression on the West. To Jesus, the human soul is identical with God not only in rare moments of ecstasy, but normally in every aspect of life, even the commonest. God is manifested most fully in the very activity in which man is manifested most fully, in performing powerful new works for the relief of misery and the control of the mind. Not as a man peculiarly subject to ecstatic seizure but as an eminently normal and typical man did Jesus declare, "I and the Father are one."[5]

To Jesus, the corporeal is no blot on the spiritual, but its necessary appearance. God eternally creates the world, blesses it, and gives it to man as a means of enjoyment. His loving care inspires its minutest part. "Are not two sparrows sold for a penny?" says Jesus; "Yet not one of them falls to the ground without your Father. Even the very hairs of your head are all numbered."[6] The God of Jesus is not ashamed of his body, the world. With and through this body He loves, thinks, and works. Says Jesus, "As my Father has continued working till this hour, so I work too."[7] God does not exclude evil; He embraces it, and continually seeks to overcome it. "Love your enemies," says Jesus, "and pray for them that persecute you, that you may be sons of your Father in Heaven; for He makes His sun rise on the evil and the good, and sends rain on the just and the unjust."[8]

Thus the Nazarene carpenter, in his own way, taught that God is the world's *sat-cit-anandam,* the world's substance, self, and radiant joy. Why does Jesus, unlike Plotinus, preach and practise the essentials of *Advaita Vedanta*? Why does Jesus succeed and Plotinus fail to teach a consistent and adequate doctrine? One reason, perhaps, is that civilization at the time of Jesus was somewhat better and more hopeful than at the time of Plotinus.

Early in the first century Rome was developing from a compact republic into a great empire, and expansion is always encouraging. From mere dependencies the provinces rose gradually to the dignity of integral parts of the realm. Instead of being subjected to the rapacity of irresponsible governors, they now enjoyed the benefit of a carefully adjusted system of provincial administration calculated to minimize the danger of misgovernment. Everywhere men felt themselves to be not mere natives of this or that land, but citizens of the world. By removing burdensome restrictions, the imperial city made trade easy, and opened up new markets for a great variety of products. In spite of the vice which had penetrated society and was fast sapping its vitality, a widespread ethical reformation was in progress.[9] By the third century (the time of Plotinus), Roman administraiton had degenerated into a stupid bureaucracy, slavery was more brutal, the cultured races were dying off, and pagan literature had lost hope. Hence it was natural for Plotinus to regard the world as resting on a fundamentally evil Matter.

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[5] *John,* 10.30.
[6] *Matthew,* 10. 29-30.
[7] *John,* 5. 17.
[8] *Matthew,* 5. 44-45.

A second reason why Jesus rather than Plotinus is non-dualistic in faith and practice is that Jesus was a worker, a carpenter who came in contact with men of all sorts and tempers, while Plotinus was a man of leisure who seems to have lived, studied, and taught within a narrow circle of the idle rich who rested on the backs of a brutalized slave class. Jesus was born into a fiercely democratic nation as a member of the great class of sturdy labourers, " the people of the land." It was natural for him to see God's love manifested in the world and the common people, because he worked with the world and belonged to the common people.

A third reason for the difference between Jesus and Plotinus is intellectual tradition. The prophetic tradition of Jesus held this world to be actually or potentially the very kingdom of God, while the Platonic tradition of Plotinus regarded this world merely as a dim and shadowy reflection of "fixed and eternal" ideas. On this account Plotinus sought to escape from the world, while Jesus sought to save it for God's benevolent rule.

Thus do civilization, social class, and intellectual tradition help to explain why Jesus, more than Plotinus, spread the light of non-dualism in the Western world. They do not fully explain. In particular, they do not show why Jesus, and none other who faced the same civilization, belonged to the same class, and followed the same tradition as he, can meet the spiritual needs of the modern man. The final reason for the power of Jesus is his unique personality. It is remarkable how often the evangelists refer to their master's glance.[10] Certainly Jesus possessed radiant health, and spoke as one with authority.[11] Plotinus, as we know from Porphyry's comments, was bashful, nervous, and epileptic. He was not equal to the demands of normal physical and social life. Jesus was more than equal.

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[9] See A. G. McGiffert, *The Apostolic Age*, pp. 153-56.

[10] See *Mark*, 3. 5; 8.33; 10.21, and elsewhere.

[11] See *Mark*, 6.2; *Matthew*, 7.29.

A great man must be representative. He sums up his people, his age. Napoleon was an instrument of the rebellious, expansive spirit of middle-class France. Goethe was great because he was so typically German. The personality of a religious genius is more than a peculiar combination of physical traits ; it expresses the community mind. The retiring Plotinus defended a retiring culture, a community suffering from "failure of nerve." The vigorous Jesus spoke for a vigorous culture, for a community of robust toilers who kept the world sane by their faith and love.

CAN CRIME BE CURED?

AN IDEALISTIC VIEW OF PUNISHMENT

CHUNILAL MITRA, M.A.

[Introduction; Definition of Crime; Causes of it; Capital Punishment; Theories of Punishment; Basic question; Authorities of Punishment; Summary of the above discussion; New venue—The virtue; Plato cited; Forgiveness and Forgetfulness; Bradley cited; Cardinal Proposition supported and elicited; Concluding remarks; Further annotations; Gist of the arguments.]

IN the case of any ordinary disease it is the immediate and unavoidable business of a doctor to diagnose its causes and then to serve a prescription. In the case of such a disease as crime, which is no more physiological than mind is physical, we may try to diagnose the exact causes of crime. But the difficulty which we may be confronted with is that in the latter case we may not have any prescription that may cure the disease. So, the reader should not find fault with the writer in this downright failure when the best physicians of our time fail to cure even a simple disease, and inspite of the best medicine available the patient dies a miserable death in no time.

Let us begin with the definition of crime. But in this case, as elsewhere, opinions of different men differ. And in the extant definitions none has any strict conformity to Logic, *viz.*, *per genus et differentium.* Still the existing definitions do work. The legal definition of a crime is "Any action by an individual in contravention of a law." It may be the omission of an act commanded or the commission of an act forbidden. According to the legal standard then, what was not a crime yesterday may be so to-day by the enactment of new laws. Here the maxim of the Romans is well applied: "Without law there is no crime." But we object to conform to the legal definition, because the legal code gives a negative statement of virtue and makes no one virtuous. What is prosecuted is the 'violation of the prohibition.' And it is the concern of all the political institutions to take note of these violations and consequently the system law deals with is a system of 'Nots' and 'Don'ts'! But a system of 'Nots' does not sustain life. It, on the contrary, saps the vital juice and eats into the life-vigour. Moral law should always be of the positive character and the evolution of all injunctions governing our conduct should be from the "Thou shalt not" of the old Testament to the "Thou shalt" of the New. Consequently, a sociological definition is forwarded: "An act to be criminal must be harmful to the society." But as the end of all societies is not alike, crime is " an act which is *believed to be* socially harmful by a group of people which has the power to enforce its beliefs." Thus our sociological code is a system of '*ought-to-be-so*' ! But 'ought-to-be-so' is no positive state. *One ought to strive-to-be-so.* And in so far this striving is an unending process we cannot call one a criminal all on a sudden and at a single violation. Again, *prima facie* it is a contradictory thing to say that man being essentially a social being does things unsocial, being inherently moral, does acts immoral, and having the prerogative of being self-legislative, does things illegal. But let us take the definitions of crime to be true and let crime be granted. The next question is: What makes a man commit a crime? That is, what are the factors that go to make a man a criminal ?

To formulate the list crime depends, at first, on the physical environment and depends much on the geographical structure of a land. For instance, it is calculated by Lombrose that rape was more common in the level than in the mountains and hills. There is an intimate relation between climate and crime. The latter is found in abundance in warm climate. Again, criminality much depends on seasons. It is said that crime against the persons are more numerous in summer than in winter, while crime against property are more numerous in winter than in summer. Ferriers' study on crime in its relation to temperature based upon French statistics from 1825 to 1878 reveals the fact that infanticide holds first in the months of January, February, March and April ; homicides and assault reach maximum in July. There is a concomitant relation between weather and criminality. "As a corollary," says Dexter, "misconduct is the result of an excess of reserve not directed to some useful purpose." This much is for the environmental physical factor. These causes are more a concern of the criminologist than of any one else. But as the investigation of the causes of crime has a direct bearing in our subject-matter we cannot help enumerating a few of them.

Physical characteristic of the individuals is an important factor in making up a criminal. It includes physical abnormalities and influence of ductless glands. These two comprise the *physical factor* broadly. So in the genesis of the criminal's conduct weight must be given to this aspect, and though again it varies with age, sex, type of crime, and frequency of conviction, it must be reckoned with in many cases. Both in the treatment of the offender and in a programme of prevention attention must be given to this factor. *Mental factor* is also a dominating one. It may include feeble-mindedness, insanity, psychic constitutional inferiority, epilepsy and other mental defects. And though opinions differ, *heredity* is also a factor. Some say crime as such cannot be inherited and crime is a social phenomenon produced by a combination of the bodily and mental characterisation and the environment acting upon that responding personality. But a part of that personality is the result of biological characteristics inherited from ancestors. It cannot be gainsaid that *economic condition* is also a potent factor. Poverty and delinquency, economic distress, capitalistic organisation, business, labour problem and unemployment—all these act and react upon the criminal. Last of all, though not the least important, are the *social factors.* Primary importance here are the home, playground and the schools. Secondarily, the community, customs, beliefs, class-hatred, religious courts, prisons and so on. Each of these plays an important part in the making up of a criminal.

All the above factors may be subsumed up into—the man *himself and his environment,* or more shortly, *the nature and nurture of an individual.* It is of momentous importance now to investigate the measures for the prevention of crime. And the remedy to be prescribed is no easy job when a person's being criminal depends on so many factors. Again, were he finally disposed of when he goes to prison, it would be of less public concern how we treat the criminal. But if he is hardened by his experience in prison instead of being socialised, he is a greater menace to property and person than before. So, *we should be concerned particularly with what is done to the criminal in prison.* It is of perennial interest to society how the criminal is treated. In this respect Penalogy should be of use to those who are concerned with the welfare of society. But Penalogy as dealing with the ' criminal-in-prison ' starts with the supposition that the unavoidable lot of a criminal is to be imprisoned under a long or short sentence. Hence it is unable to take an unprejudiced view of the case and the question in its fundamentals. We propose to proceed without any such assumption and deal with the question from the beginning. Our first question therefore is: Need a criminal be punished at all ? From time immemorial throughout the history of human race punishments were either of the form of retaliation, eradication of infectious criminal, banishment, physical mutilation like hands cut-off, tongue torn-out, emasculation, mutilation of all sorts, cutting-off of legs, punishment by curses and public ridicule, etc. The form of capital punishment which is still in vogue in different parts of the civilised world at present has a long evolutionary history. It was of various forms, *viz.*, beating, beheading, burning, cutting to pieces, crucifixion, drowning, destruction by the wild beast, hanging, flogging to death, strangulating and smothering. Other methods of execution have been used in different countries varying with the people and the time. After the invention of the gun-powder shooting the criminal became the method of military execution. And ever since the foundation of capital punishment arguments have been forwarded by two opposite sections for and against it. But as we have presumed to deal with the rear rank our question is: *Can crime be cured ? and is punishment of any description the only medicine of its cure ?*

Hardly anyone thinks himself a criminal and if he happens to be so, he defies the world to be treated as a patient to be cured. Crime is obviously not a pathological disease to be cured. Hence we at once dispense with the two terms of our subject-matter. We substitute ' offender ' for ' criminal ' and we are to ' treat ' and behave with the criminal rather than ' cure ' him. Offender is a more modified term applicable to a misdoer.

Granting a person's being an offender in this sense the vital question is: What sort of punishment should be meted out to an offender ? The theories of punishment are retributive, deterrent and reformative. But ' Tit for tat, blow for blow ' theory of punishment is long while obsolete. The simple reason is that an eye for an eye or a tooth for a tooth does not bring an eye or a tooth to the person offended. Another eye in possession really does not restore the lost eye. On the contrary, two eyes are lost in the sequel. The theory that you are punished " not because sheep is stolen but that sheep may not be stolen further " is a theory which makes a man a means to an end. Hence this theory is to be discarded. Man cannot be considered as a household article to be used for the execution of an end which is the society. For, if the society is an end for the good of which an offender is to be punished, the offender should be considered also an end. And if the latter be a means, society would also be a means. Thus, *in the absence of an end-in-itself an " ultimate good* *for its own sake " this deterrent theory of punishment is lost on its own ground.* The only extant theory of punishment possible in our society is the retributive theory in its modified form; *i.e.*, the misdoer should be punished not simply having in view the offence '*in abstracto*' but also with reference to the circumstance that led him to do that. And the punishment will vary with the gravity of the offence and circumstances. That is, punishment would be less severe if the offence would be less grave, and so on. But even if it is accepted it is so difficult to have the full context of an offence that the punishment in a modified retributive basis defies all soundness of justice. For, the causes which make one to do the wrong instead of the right will challenge any court of judicature to furnish one with a sentence appropriate in a particular case.

On ultimate analysis the question resolves into: Can offence be remedied at all ? And is punishment at all justifiable ? It is no longer a question of degree but of kind—not of more or less punishment but of punishment or no-punishment. The second half of the question is: Who is authorised to punish ? And is he an ultimate authority ? Is the law on which punishment is based just law ? It is said that law represents from age to age the code of the dominant ruling class slowly accumulated and slowly modified but always administered by the ruling class. And another section of people support this only because they get at least the jackal's share though not the lion's one. The object of their special condemnation is the thief—not the rich thief, for he is already in possession and therefore, respectable, but the poor thief ! Why so ? Because we have maintained material gain or possession being the ideal of society the inevitable consequence of it would be that the judge who pronounces sentence on the prisoner now will be judged by the prisoner who, in his turn, will pronounce sentence on the judge. In the punishment theory and with reference to law we have no way out of these difficulties. When chance would come for the criminals to make laws they would punish the punisher to-morrow and in that case the " Accepted of one age would be the Criminal of the next," and then it would be no less sad a spectacle than the previous one, *viz.*, the judge in the next generation will be punished by the criminal of the present one. Mr. Havelock Ellis in his " Criminal " says: Our law is still in so semi-barbaric a condition that the grave interests of society and of the individual are made to hinge on a problem which must often be insoluble. Thus, if law stands out to be such then one section may punish and the other may bring censure on the same ground.

In the Code of Manu it is said that the fool who is biased somehow and is attracted to some one cannot be able to sentence or pass judgment on any one without the help of an authoritative person (Āptapurūṣa) and without education and sufficient training. On the contrary, he who is pure-hearted and truthful, who is well-versed in all the śāstras, who is an intelligent assistant to the best personalities and who has good companion is entitled to pass just judgment (Chap. VII, Ślokas 30 & 31). The reference to the Āptapūruṣa seems to imply that it is on revelation that Manu gives emphasis, which present-day statesmen discard altogether. But there it is also mentioned that punishment must be given with reference to and in consideration of the time, place, person and offence itself, and the legal Code of Manu is too cautious to assert that *sentence must not be passed on him who is not the real culprit. The innocent must be exempted from any sort of punishment* (Ch. VIII, 128-129). Again Manu is too explicit and unequivocal in describing the rate of punishment to be inflicted on persons of different status. For the same offence a man of higher qualities, rank and refinement should be punished more severely than a man of lower quality, of low education and culture. It is enacted in Manu that, for the same offence where an ordinary layman is sentenced to pay a fine of one pice the king will be sentenced to pay one thousand pice. The expression is revolutionary, and just the reverse is the order prevalent in our society. Manu argues that the king and the king-like should be punished in a measure thousand times more than the ordinary men. Accordingly the ministers (Dewāns) should be punished eight hundred times less than the king. The Brahmin should be punished 64, 100 or 180 times proportionately to their superiority in education and reputation as compared with an ordinary man. (Ch. VIII, 36, 38). In this case in strict conformity with the Code of Manu we cannot conceive the plight of our higher and superior rank people if 'for four annas an ordinary man, was sentenced to two years' rigorous imprisonment, a fine of rupees fifty and in default an additional term of imprisonment for six months. Over and above this, he will have to undergo a hard labour under Police custody for three years after release.' On the whole it amounts to that the offender was sentenced to five years and six months' rigorous imprisonment for an offence of four annas worth of pocket-picking.' (The case cited here is taken from a daily newspaper published towards the end of April, 1937.) But to our mind this is no remedy of the offence nor a cure of the disease (if pocket-picking turns to be a disease with the said man). *Again, if the treatment in prison life induces one to commit pocket-picking once again, if any severance undergone within the iron-bars and stone-walls be an incentive to commit theft, adultery and the like, the punishment-theory with whatever ulterior object—deterrent or reformative—is lost without a single vote in its favour.*

The essential enquiry as to crime and its cure has been rewarded with hardly any success. At the fag-end of our discussion we have reached a very unpleasant conclusion. Unpleasant but unavoidable. We were in search of a remedy for the offence and we traversed a long course, and evidently a wrong one, through punishment. It contributes no good to the society nor to the offender himself. The simple reason is that no act of Parliament can make him good. *In fact, he cannot be made but must himself be.* Virtue cannot be communicated. It is a question—not of making but of becoming.

Discussing the problem whether virtue can be taught Plato forwards a disjunctive: 'It can either be taught or is inborn in man.' If it can be taught it can no longer be an original possession of man. If it be an original possession of man it can no longer be taught. But Plato says that it can be taught on the ground that its teachability does not forfeit its originality. For teaching, according to him, is the midwifery of cognition. "Learning is the apprehension of inborn knowledge, the anamnesis." Virtue can be taught only because it is an innate possession of man. Hence, making good (which legal authority claims to make) depends on being good. *So punishment from without is no solution of the wicked and the evil-doer.*

Crime cannot be cured by punishment and we have proved that punishment does not solve the problem of the criminal. At the same time the fact of crime cannot be denied. What then, is the way out ? Is 'Forgive and forget' the real remedy ? Not at all. For punishment and forgiveness are inseparable terms. "Every condemnation is a forgiveness in the sense that it is an invitation, an aid to redemption and every pardon in the same way is condemnation," says Croce. They are as implicit in each other as negation is implicit in affirmation, and *vice versa*. True forgiveness must come from people who know when they have been wronged. In fact, punishment, forgiveness and forgetfulness are controvertible terms. The offender cannot be pardoned, nor can he be forgotten, in the same sense as withdrawing one's word, proposal or promise. For, the action once done, becomes a part and parcel of the reality and can never be undone. Thus the offender is neither cured, norpunished, nor pardoned. The result is no improvement. The arguments so far have merely touched the fringe of the question. We are to begin our enquiries anew.

The criminal is never to be punished, nor to be pardoned. Not to be punished because no legalised authority is there to punish and because with reference to the law on the basis of which the offender is to be punished it may be a law not universally applicable. Not to be pardoned because, excuse will mean corruption in society and will add indulgence to misdoing. Again, why this cruel law is for a section of people or a single person and why should he or they abide by a law which is not to be applied to all people without exception ? When all wrong-doers and law-breakers are not punished, why should a few be punished ? In our society we see that the penalty of a law-breaker on a small scale is prison and that of a trival wickedness, social ostracism. "But," asks Joad (C. E. M.), "what of law-breaking on a large scale and a wickedness powerful enough to flout the public opinion to which others succumb ?" "For example," continues the same writer, "the man who steals a leg of mutton goes to prison for a month, but the Captain of an Industry who is grown rich on the profits stolen from his workmen gets a knighthood. The man who has murdered his wife who has annoyed him *gets hanged for his pain* and the man who kills his fellowmen is denounced as a Cannibal ; but the great general who plans the death of a vast multitude whom he has never seen, with whom he has never exchanged a cross-word and whom he does not require for purposes of sustenance is held as the saviour of his country." Then, the law which confers titles on some one and punishment on others, and for the same reason, is a law which is lawless. It makes Morality the interest of the stronger and *the rebel is the patriot who fails while patriot is the rebel who prevails.* If it is argued that the law is made on the 'general will of the people" it is to be said that the proposition is a downright falsehood. For in the days of stock-taking and cash-closing in the hands of any auditor the signal fact will be revealed that surely some are out of this 'general' ! And even if the proposition 'law is the general will' be retained the law as law loses all its force and becomes obsolete. Fot if it be also the offender's will to do something it is no use saying that law *enforces* punishment. If it is argued that the particular law enforces punishment on its *own account* it also loses its ground simply because it then makes ethical and legal code individual and subjective. And "if ethics is everyone's preserve and is like a hat which has lost its shape because everybody wears it, if mother's instruction to her children of naughtiness is her own inconvenience, that of a priest is the disobedience to the written word believed to be divinely inspired and that of the State is going astray to the established law, then *it contributes to the confusion that ethics is a pursuit in which every one is an expert*" (Future of Morals, Joad). You have your moral code and I have mine. Then let not one encroach upon other's territory. Consequently, no section is entitled to punish a single man from this respect even.

Mr. Bradley, a post and a right-hand Hegelian, prescribes punishment for the individual but he is loth to prescribe a little of it for the society and the State. In his chaste, beautiful and philosophical language he says that crime is a negation of the social order and punishment is a second negation of that negation, and consequently, it is a restoration to social equilibrium. And elsewhere he makes an equation between the individual and the society. But in consonanance with his own saying it comes to be that, if crime is a negation of social order it is also society's negation of the social order, and if punishment is at all a suggested remedy it should be meted out to the society as well. But Bradley simply ignores this other side of the shield. He simply forgets the ratio he himself has drawn. And he pleads for responsibility. But we substitute 'reaction' for responsibility, that is, every individual who commits a dissonant act in the society he belongs to, necessarily provokes a reaction. And of this reaction Mr. Smith (M. Hamblin) in his "Psychology of the Criminal" says that "it is not necessary that this reaction of society should for ever take the form known as punishment." Even of this responsibility Prof. A. Hamon in his 'Lá Responsibilité' says that 'Responsibility' and 'Penalty' lead to an apparent contradiction, and it would be much better if we finally abandon them.

In support of our general thesis that punishment is no cure for crime we may refer to some authors and may thus end our essay. It is certainly possible, by means of severity, to check many of the outward manifestations of rebellion. "But the experience of ages" says Smith, "has proved that this course is futile." Much of our delinquency is due to the pressure of society and for this society will be the responsible agent. The process will be unpleasant for some but this is an unavoidable process. James Seth suggests that prisons should be superseded by hospitals and asylums, and Smith shakes hands with Seth when the former says that "They (criminals) should be treated under hospital conditions and the idea of prison should be kept out of sight." These people have advanced up to the door of hospital, but we suggest that they should go a step further, *i.e.*, do away with the hospitals even and direct the impulse of a criminal (to use our old vocabulary) to a different channel, wherein his action, far from contrary and injurious to, would be in harmony with and conducive to social order. The author of the "Psychology of the Criminal" feels that the ideal plan is that of 'full examination before trial.' Yet he realises that it will take many years to reach our final goal in this respect. Agreeing with the second half of his assertion we may say that undoubtedly it will take a long period to take society out of crime only by shifting the activity and impulse of wrong doing to another direction. Punishment will and does check crime to a certain extent, but it will never transform the delinquent population into honest citizens, for the simple reason that *it* (punishment) *commonly strikes, at the full-fledged criminal and not at the causes which have made him so.* Again, economic well-being, however widely diffused, will not extinguish crime. Furthermore, if a convicted man is as unfit for the social life at the expiration of his sentence as he was at the commencement of it, to our mind the prison hitherto has accomplished half its work and punishment as a remedy has lost its character as a remedy.

In "Crime and its Causes" Mr. Morrison (S. Douglas) indicates that "what is the use of punishing a delinquent for offences against the law if the moment his sentence is completed he is sent back again into the surroundings which led to his fall?" Thus, so long as his surroundings are the same his acts will be the same unless his mind has passed through a revolution during detention in jail. Here we plead for the improvement of the society and our mode of living. Mr. Carpenter in opening his Essay "The

Defence of. Criminal " observes: " Is he (criminal) really harmful to society ? Is he more harmful than the mild old gentleman in the wig who pronounces sentence upon him ? That is the question."

Our provisional conclusion is: We cannot punish the offender *qua*-offender. The exact quantity of punishment due to him should be distributed among his fellowmen, his parents and among each and everyone of the state he belongs to. So that in the method of making him good the entire environment is to be made good, beginning from his nearest being and family to the entire mass of population of which he is a unit. It seems to be unpracticable. But it is not impossible, and the task is not an easy one. *It is not making the criminal good but crime obsolete and naught.* The subject gives us no solution. To our mind, *admission of crime lends no admission to its solution.* For this too short a thesis we have talked so much and our apology for this is, that we could not help talking.

Our final thesis stands thus: We want a thorough change of outlook in society, in life and in living, when all theories of crime and punishment will collapse and the entire superstructure of jurisprudence will crumble into nothingness only to register its utter hollowness. The entire falsity of our problem itself lies with the presupposition and postulate. For regarding crime punishment is not at all the cure. And " granting crime what is the way out ? " is a further foolish question asked by hundreds of men for hundreds of years together. But never a whisper came how can we do away with crime itself.

Perhaps the attempt was made some four thousand years back in the life of Lord Krishna and in an effective way. His Brindaban is nothing short of a model village or society of an ideal state of affairs. Everything was there of a divinely human character. But the dazzles of modern civilization have simply eclipsed that noble idea. We cherish the pious intention of re-establishing that Brindaban in this land of ours once again. In fact, if India at all claims a cultural heritage and a long standing tradition of her own she can render positive contribution to the world cultural stock in this one aspect among many, *viz.*, in its revival of that blissful state where crime would become a cypher. It is not allowing ourselves to be licentious nor is it living in wild ideas. Such a thing was historically actualised somewhere in the old days, and a resurrection of it is not an insane hope.

* * *

Incidentally and last of all, though not the least, I may note one thing that all through I have worked out a single idea. It is not so much the denial of crime as that of punishment and that, the central idea I have in view has its affinity with the central idea of the one-Act play of Mckinnel's, 'The Bishop's Candlestick.' The problem raised in the drama is whether a criminal mind generated by years of shame and suffering, is capable of being reformed, and whether penal servitude stands to produce a most inhuman result in degrading a prisoner morally and confirming in the prisoner his criminal instinct. The writer of the said drama has painted a vivid picture of the savagery and brutality of life in a prison ship and has drawn a two-fold conclusion. Firstly, instead of reforming the convict penal servitute doomed him to a life of perpetual crime. And, secondly, when the criminal was released all doors were shut to him—he was treated as a pariah. From the mouth of the prisoner it was told that even in hell (*i.e.*, in prison) he was fed, but outside it he had either to steal or to starve. Whence the play finally showed that *the prison system does more harm than good; and the author condemns the retributive theory of punishment.* The counter-half of the play is that *a criminal can be reformed by kindness and sympathy, by humane treatment, by an appeal to his better instincts—to the Man not yet dead in him.*

I may further note that this single idea was worked out by Victor Hugo in his immortal production 'Les Miserables' and particularly through the life of Jean Valjin. Here the man had the most human, attractive and fine character with a capacity for almost limitless self-sacrifice; but forced by the pressure of circumstances to adopt a life of crime. All through *Hugo was concerned with the goodness of the individual and the cruelty of organised society. Our plea, however, is for the goodness of both the individual and society.* We want a *revaluation* of the values of most of the social currents. Or, as the late Swami Vivekananda used to tell us "Our life-blood is spirituality. If it flows clear, if it flows strong, pure and vigorous, everything is right; political, social and other material defects even the poverty of the land will be cured if that blood is pure" (Vol. III, p. 288). And with reference to any culprits or criminals of our society we echo with the said Swamiji once again: "Take man where be stands and from thence give him a lift" (Vol. II, p. 381 or "Swami Vivekananda on India and Her Problems" compiled by Swami Nirvedananda).

A GLOSSARY OF THE WHOLE THING.—In my treatment of the subject I have traversed a long course in diagnosing the causes of crime, which enquiry simply baffles me. It defies any strict diagnosis, and consequently any prescription for recovery. In the study of the criminal's life I have referred to the study of the biology of crime and with it the Anatomical, Physiological and Psychological nature of a criminal, and this study also lands me in confusion. Taking for granted the diagnosis true, and crime a fact, I have tried to ameliorate crime through punishment but this path ultimately proved to be thorny and faced me with a downright failure. Law played a prominent part in tackling the problem but had to turn back shamefully, whence the conclusion is drawn evidently that punishment is no cure for crime. On the contrary, forgiveness and forgetfulness are denied, because admission of crime admits of no amelioration, far less abolition. The paper finally appeals for a negation and neutralisation of crime itself, and suggests an entire revision or rather cancellation of the terms ' crime,' ' punishment ' and the like.

That we should " abhor the crime and not hate the criminal " is a further misleading expression like the present one. If by violating the so-called law one obeys a higher law the man is not to be regarded as a criminal. Again, in negating the social equilibrium the man may establish another equilibrium elsewhere and in that case far from being a menace the criminal becomes the harbinger and saviour of the equilibrium. The term ' criminal ' sinks and with it 'punishment ' evaporates. No crime, no punishment is the result.

Though it is a denial of punishment, it is not on the contrary, a defence of crime. The paper nowhere says of opening the prison gates. It is not any statistic showing whether or how far the number of criminals has increased or decreased with reference to a particular country. The approach to the problem is not through any traditional ethics nor is it merely an appeal to passions and sentiments. The propagation made in the paper is not due to an obsession of socialism or any other ' isms.' It is a faithful and honest attempt in putting the problem and making a solution thereof in a way I am fully convinced of. In fact, the paper is more suggestive than constructive, but of its suggestion it is conclusive..

A WORD OF RECOGNITION.—For all that is sound, genuine, original and consistent in the essay I owe to Swami Purusottamananda Abadhut of the Naranarayan Ashram (8A, Rashbehary Avenue) from

THE GREAT ARISTOTLE

RAMESH CHANDRA GHOSH, M.A., B.L.

SINCE the early days of the Renaissance, scholars and statesmen, inspite of their hopes for a golden millennium have persistently cried: "Back to Aristotle" ! This is no paradox. As years roll by, this grand critic-philosopher of ancient Greece stands out more and more in his pristine halo of fathomless wisdom, commonsense realism and matchless reserve. Born at Stagira in 384 B.C. Aristotle, son of Nicomachus, the Court Physician of Amyntas III of Macedon, was greatly influenced in the early days of his life, by the biological and medical researches of his father, and the atomistic philosophy of Democritus. At seventeen, he went to Athens and sat at the feet of Plato. After the latter's death in 347 B.C., he went to Hermias, a former Academician, but then ruler of Assos in Asia Minor. There he fell in love with his host's daughter, Pythias, whom he married very soon. Subsequently, he moved to Lesbos to study marine fauna, but some time after, he was invited by Philip of Macedon to be the tutor of his son Alexander. Philip died in 334 B.C. When Alexander ascended the throne, the royal tutor returned to Athens and started the Lyceum—a peripatetic school of his own in contrast to Plato's Academy. In 323 B.C., on Alexander's death, and as a result of Demosthenes' revolutionary speeches, anti-Macedonian feeling ran high at Athens. Aristotle, fearing the fate of Socrates, fled to Chalcis, where he died a year later.

In the horizon of scholarship there is no brighter luminary than the Stagirite. His work is almost universal in range, comprising Logic, Rhetoric, Poetry, Physics, Metaphysics, Biology, Ethics and Politics. His style is bad, crooked, halting, not at all comparable with the charming flourish of Plato. But, though he was not the "*meilleur ecrivian,*" he is undoubtedly "*l'home de plus dignes.*" He started with Plato's theory of Ideas, but made a sharp departure from his master, very soon. He began to believe that form and matter were inseparably interrelated. Matter in itself is an unqualified stuff; it is form that gives it a meaning. But in Nature, there is no such distinction, for Nature was to Aristotle something moving and evolving—something primitive which by its inner force, its "*elan vital*," was every day transforming itself towards its goal. Abstracted form is static, while Nature is dynamic. Here we find Aristotle's real self. He is a biologist, not a mathematician ; a realist, not an idealist ; a teleologist, not a mechanic. An actual acorn is to him a potential oak. And in all processes of transformation, he finds four causes, not all too distinct either in point of time or space—*viz.*, the material cause in the undifferentiated stuff or substratum ; the formal cause in the differentiating and particularising factor ; the efficient cause in the agent that transforms the object, or keeps it changing ; and lastly, the final cause in the goal or end towards which the change is ultimately directed. Thus, to Aristotle, though the material cause is prior in time, the final cause is prior in thought ; for, the face of Venus must have existed in Phædius' mind, long before he struck his chisel over the marble block.

Aristotle is the father of Logic. He felt the need of classifying knowledge. To him Logic was the science of all sciences, the organon of all knowledge. He invented the Syllogism and classified the categories of thought, an achievement over which more than two thousand years of rigorous thought has almost failed to add anything substantial. He regarded Mathematics, Physics and Metaphysics as theoretical knowledge and Ethics and Politics as practical, while, curiously enough, Rhetoric and Poetry were to him productive arts.

In Biology, Aristotle studied more than 500 different animals, and followed the modern methods of dissection and the use of diagrams. He discovered the true principle of classification into genus and species on the basis of differentia, but again, curiously enough, he did not believe in evolution. He believed that the species preserves its peculiarity through reproduction and thereby realises its goal or end. He almost anticipated Wiesmann.

In Metaphysics, soul is not very different from mind, to Aristotle; for, he could not believe in personal immortality in the absence of strict proof. There are three kinds of souls, according to him—the nutritive, whose function is to preserve the body and continue the race, found in common in plants, animals and human beings ; the sensitive—which can assimilate the like with the unlike on the basis of perception, *e.g.*, when the vibrations of air are assimilated with the audible faculty of man or beast, resulting in the perception of sound ; thirdly, the rational—by which knowledge of Self, God and of conditions of knowledge is possible. Such a soul is the monopoly of man. To Aristotle, God was the Supreme Active Reason, and man a rational animal nearer to God than any other earthly creature.

In Politics, Aristotle is in his elements To him it is a Trilogy—a science of ethics, political society, and law. Man is, according to him, a political animal, for, the family, clan, tribe and the State are natural to him. Here Aristotle follows the biological method of observation and analysis. In every page there are indications of a revulsion from orthodox Platonism. It is throughout factual. Aristotle lacked the historical insight of Thucydides, the idealism of Plato, and the humanism of the Sophists. To him the *polis*—a mere city-State—was the highest form of human association, and he resolutely stuck to this idea to the end of his life, though just before his eyes at that time the greatest experiments in nationalism and enlightened imperialism were being made. But he ignored Alexander and his Macedonian Empire. However, in man he found the group instinct natural. The instinct of sex continues the race, while the instinct of rule, obedience and co-operation forms the basis of family, tribe and the State. The *polis* exists for good life, and its spirit and constitution are organically related with the peculiar character of the citizens. Revolutions are always bad, just as all extremes are bad. Communism cannot be introduced all on a sudden, and further, Platonic communism is a negation of the State, a confusion of values, a refusal to face reality. Aristotle believed in the supremacy of law and the wisdom of the golden mean. Curiously enough, he defended slavery, though, none the less, he reformed it.

Wider than Politics is Ethics to Aristotle, for he believes it to be concerned with defining virtue, while the State offers the opportunity for realising virtue. Aristotle's conception of the State is almost Hegelian, for the latter regarded the State as the actualisation of freedom. But, while Hegel believed the State to be " a self-conscious ethical being," having a personality of its own, the wise Aristotle never forgot to regard it as an instrument—though an unavoidable and natural instrument—for making man more and more virtuous. Virtue is the only way for man to realise happiness (Eudaimonia)—which Aristotle defines as the spontaneous, effortless, pleasurable exercise of all human faculties in their fullest development. Virtue is the "condition " or the proper state of the soul. *De soi le vice est odieux.* In Aristotle we find the typical Greek definition of Virtue. It means proper harmony and natural proportion. Just as excess of any humour (in Greek medical science) produces bad effects, so excess of anything—either in asceticism or enjoyment, in private or public life—is bad.

Though Aristotle was no " *page du sire Apollo*," yet he is even now one of the greatest critics of Art and Literature. To him Rhetoric is a noble art of pursuasion, to be painfully cultivated, and not a mere term of abuse. Aristotle condemns senseless or over-emphatic verbosity or any illegitimate appeal to passions. Moderation and good sense are always necessary in Art. In his theory of Poetry, he regards Art as " Imitation," not in the ordinary sense of the term, but as sympathy, *i.e.*, in the sense of identifying oneself with the object of one's art. In this way one can transpose oneself imaginatively in an otherwise unreal situation, with a view to purging oneself of the excess of emotion which is dangerous to the health of the soul, just as the excess of humours is harmful to the health of the body.

In Art, Literature, Science and Philosophy, Aristotle's method of study and most of his observations reign supreme. There are, undoubtedly, some shortcomings and mistakes, but well might he say, " *Davus sum non Œdipus*."

INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE AND PROVINCIAL AUTONOMY*

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IN some recent statements Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru raised the question of the relationship between the Indian Civil Service and the Congress Governments, which were in office until recently in eight provinces. He has accused the Civil Service of both disloyalty and incompetence. It is true, he has pointed out, that among Civilians there might be some, who were both efficient and loyal, but as a rule the highly placed permanent officials of the Governments were not only not equal to the task, which was set to them, but what was more they even tried to thwart the policy of their respective Governments by resorting to different tactics. It is the object of this paper to examine this statement.

The working of Provincial Governments for the last two years and a half may be regarded as the first experiment of democracy in India. It is true that under the Government of India Act, 1919, responsible government was supposed to have been worked on a partial and limited basis in the British Indian Provinces. But limitations upon this partial responsible government were so many and so effective that we may be justified in regarding the working of the Provincial Governments under the Act, 1935, as the first experiment of democratic and responsible administration in the provinces. Democracy, however, can nowhere be worked in modern times without efficient and loyal instruments. Every Government must have its tools, and democratic Government is not an exception to this rule. In ancient times, when democracy was worked in a city state like that of Athens, the problems of government were so simple and so few that the citizens could by rotation take up the duties of administration. No permanent civil service was necessary at all. Even in modern democracies, a permanent and efficient Civil Service was not regarded as essential and indispensable, so long as the principle of Laissez Faire was in the ascendant. When it was thought that the duty of the Government was only to maintain peace at home and to ward off attack from without, the necessity of a very efficient permanent Civil Service did not arise. But as civilization became increasingly complex, the duties of the Government also began to multiply. The principle of Laissez Faire could no longer be maintained. Slowly but surely there was a departure from this principle, even in those countries, which had been consciously and deliberately wedded to this ideal. To-day there is not a single country in the world, whose Government has not to discharge ten times more obligations than it was required to do fifty years ago. Indian conditions are certainly far more backward than many people may actually conceive. But even in our provinces administration cannot be regarded as simple. Here also the problems of government have become as complicated as they are multifaricus. Necessarily when the representatives of the people formed Councils of Ministers in 1937, they were not expected to deal with these problems without the expert help and loyal assistance of the permanent Civil Servants. The Ministers were certainly expected to provide the new outlook and the new driving force, but they could make them effective only if the tools in their hands were found to be in order.

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* This paper was read at the 2nd session of the Indian Political Science Conference held at Lahore.

The tools, which were immediately in the hands of the Ministers, were those superior civil servants, who had been recruited to the Indian Civil Service, either in India or in Great Britain. It is true the Civil Servants in an Indian Province are not provided exclusively by the Indian Civil Service. In fact there are several other services as well in every province. But the key-positions in the administrative organisation are held mostly by the members of the Indian Civil Service. So when we speak of the tools of democratic government in an Indian Province, we have in the first instance the members of the Indian Civil Service only in mind.

It was in the days of Lord Cornwallis that the Covenanted Civil Service was first created and then by the Charter Act of 1793, all the posts under the East India Company in every Province were reserved for the officers belonging to this Service. The Act laid down[1] that all vacancies in the different presidential establishments were to be duly notified by the proper authorities to the Court of Directors and the Court, in

[1] Clause 59.

accordance with that return, would send out the requisite contingent of *writers*. It was also laid down[1] that below the membership of the Council all offices under the Company in any Presidency would be filled by the officers of the establishment only according to seniority. In other words, neither at the bottom nor in any intermediate grade any outsider could be appointed for filling up any of the posts under the Government. All the posts were to be reserved for the members of the Covenanted Service.

It is true that these provisions of the Act of 1793, could not be acted up to in all details in practice. The duties of the Government began to increase and to cope with the new task it was essential to appoint new hands. As the appointment of the Covenanted Civilians was too expensive an affair, very often for lower posts uncovenanted recruitment was made in India. But such recruitment was certainly unconstitutional and illegal. Necessity however knows no law, and inspite of the provisions of the Act of 1793, such unconstitutional appointment continued apace. It was only in 1861 that another Act was passed by the British Parliament at the instance of Sir Charles Wood, the Secretary of State for India. It was this measure, which provided for the reservation of only the superior and most responsible posts for the members of the Covenanted Civil Service. In other words with regard to the lower and less responsible offices recruitment might be made any way that the Government pleased. But with regard to the key and pivotal positions, it was obligatory that only the Covenanted Civilians should be appointed. It is true that even to some of the superior posts an officer other than a Covenanted Civilian might be appointed, but this could be done only with the previous assent of the Secretary of State for India. The posts, which were thus reserved for the members of the Indian Civil Service, included those of the District Officers, the District Judges, the Divisional Commissioners, Secretaries, Deputy Secretaries, and Under-Secretaries to different Governments and Administrations, Members of the Boards of Revenue and Secretaries to these Boards.

We have seen in the previous paragraph that even to the reserved and scheduled posts, an officer other than a Covenanted Civilian might be appointed with the previous approval of the Secretary of State. This provision was from time to time taken advantage of and some uncovenanted officers were appointed to responsible posts. Under the rules which were framed on the recommendations of the Lee Commission in 1924, twenty per cent. of the superior offices have been opened out to those who would be promoted from the Provincial Civil Services. The remaining eighty per cent. however, are still reserved for the members of the Indian Civil Service. When again we say that twenty per cent. of the superior posts have been " listed " and opened out to the officers of the Provincial Services, we should bear it in mind that these officers are hardly ever promoted beyond the posts of District Magistrates and District Judges. Usually many of them have to retire as Additional District Magistrate or as Additional District Judge. It is only very rarely that an officer holding the " listed " appointment has been raised to the status of the Divisional Commissioner or has been allowed to hold an important Secretariat appointment. So we may say that although in theory only eighty per cent. of the superior posts are reserved for the members of the Indian Civil Service in practice more or less all key positions are in their hands.

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[1] Clause 56.

[2] 24 and 25 Vic. Cap 54 (see Sections 3 and 4).

The Ministers have not the right to deprive the Civilians of the offices, which have been reserved for them. In view of this fact it is clear that unless the members of the Indian Civil Service co-operate in every way with the Council of Ministers and show due obedience to the policies laid down by it, the working of the Provincial Governments in accordance with the wishes of the representatives of the people becomes a misnomer. The past traditions and the present constitutional rights of the Indian Civil Service however appear to be inconsistent with the absolute obedience which they may owe to the ministries in office in the different provinces. The Indian Civil Service until the other day was not merely a Civil Service but also a governing corporation. Subject to the exercise of the ultimate authority by the British Parliament, this body was really responsible for administering the affairs of the Indian territories. The Government was absolutely bureaucrate in character and the key-positions in this bureaucracy were all held by the members of this Service.

In the last century the famous publicist Blunt who visited India during the viceroyalty of Lord Ripon, testified to the fact that the administration of India was carried on by the members of the Indian Civil Service in accordance with the principles virtually laid down by themselves.[1] Some years later the Public Service Commission of which Sir Charles Aitchison was the Chairman observed in its report published in 1888 that the Indian Civil Service should be the *corps d'elite* of Indian Administration. In other words it laid *down* the principle that the officers who were to hold the key-positions in the different Government departments should be chosen from this body of officers. The subordinates would be recruited from the other Services no doubt but the directing staff must be recruited from this body alone.[2] Although from this standpoint the Indian Civil Service might be better called the *corps delite*, as the Public Service Commission called it, yet looking at the fact that the Indian administration was not merely directed in its day to day operation by the members of the Indian Civil Service, but that its principles and policies also were laid down by this body, we may certainly agree with Mr. Blunt and call the Indian Civil Service a corporation responsible for the governance of India. In fact the Government of India was so identified with the Indian Civil Service that in 1915 Mr. Herbert Fisher who had opportunity of studying the Indian administration at first hand[3] was constrained to observe that the Indian Civil Service was not merely a service but the government of the country. The Civilians were still supreme in every branch of the Indian Government—in the executive, the legislature, the judiciary and the subordinate administrative body.

In view of the fact that for more than a century the Indian Civil Service had run the Government of India territories according to its lead and light and virtually in an irresponsible manner, it was not to be expected that when responsible government was introduced on a limited and partial basis by the Government of India Act, 1919, they would all on a sudden turn over a new leaf and develop overnight the traditions of ' anonimity and obedience ' of the British Civil Service. A conservative and power-loving body like the Indian Civil Service had besides no love for the reforms which are associated with the names of Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford. In fact Mr. Lionel Curtis only recently bore testimony to the fact that when the proposal of even partial responsible government in the Provinces was first mooted in a small study circle in England, the Civilians who were present looked aghast and tried to laugh the proposal out of court. They could never imagine that the Indian Administration could be conducted on the responsibility of any body other than the Indian Civil Service. Later they had no doubt to pay a lip-homage to the reforms but in their heart of hearts the Civilians never became reconciled to the change in the underlying principle of Indian administration in the Provinces.

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[1] See " India under Ripon."

[2] Report, p. 55.

[3] The Right Honourable Herbert Fisher was a member of Mr. Lloyd George's Coalition Government as Minister of Education. He visited India as a member of the Royal Commission on the Public Services (1912-15) presided over by Lord Islington

The Ministers under the Montagu-Chelmsford regime had to work in consequence under a severe handicap. They were supposed to be responsible to the Legislative Council for the working of the different departments committed to their charge, but over the permanent officers of the departments without whose co-operation and assistance they could do nothing, they had no real control. In the first place the rights and privileges of the Indian Civil Service and other All-India Services still working in the Provinces were protected and the Ministers had virtually no voice regarding the prospects in service of these officers. They were independent of the Ministers in regard to the conditions of their service. So the members of these different services did not look to the political heads of their departments at all for support.[1] Secondly the rules also were so framed as to encourage the permanent officers to snap their fingers at the Ministers. The relations between the Ministers and the Governors of the Provinces were left rather vague and uncertain by the Government of India Act. So the head of the Province might exercise greater or smaller voice, according to the circumstances, in the administration of the transferred departments. Now in order that the Governors might discharge their responsibilities properly, the rules for the working of the departments were framed in such a way as to enable them to have the advice not only of the Minister but also of the permanent Secretary to the department concerned. So it was arranged that every week the Secretary and the Minister would see the Governor regarding the problems of administration with which the department would be concerned. Not unoften the Minister and the Secretary would disagree as to the lines of action which should be taken. If they so disagreed it would be for the Governor either to support the Minister or the Secretary. If the Secretary was supported, as he was on many occasions, the Minister would only look on. His views would not prevail but those of the Secretary would triumph. Before the Reforms Enquiry Committee which was set up in 1924 and which was presided over by Sir Alexander Muddiman, Home Member of the Government of India, the ex-Ministers of different Provinces narrated the woeful tales of their disagreement with the Civilian Secretaries and heads of departments and of their consequent helplessness when they were overruled and their official subordinates supported and backed by the Governors. That the Ministers were responsible for the working of the departments only in name but not actually in practice was illustrated fully by the evidences placed before the Muddiman Committee.

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[1] That the continuance of the I.C.S. with its old privileges and rights would be inconsistent with the new reforms was foreseen as much by the leaders of public opinion in India as by the members of the services themselves. See N. C. Roy "Indian Civil Service" (Book Company, Calcutta, 1935), Chapter VII.

There was only one case of resignation no doubt because of the fact that over the head of the Ministers the permanent heads of the departments tried to formulate lines of action with the encouragement of the Governor. But although Mr. C. Y. Chintamani and Pandit Jagat Narain were the only Ministers who resigned from the Government as a protest against an act of disobedience on the part of the Director of Public Instruction, actually incidents of such disobedience happened rather frequently in other provinces.

Under the Government of India Act, 1935, the members of the Indian Civil Service continue to enjoy the privileges and rights which they had enjoyed before. They are still appointed not by the Provincial Governments nor even by the Government of India but by the Secretary of State. Their conditions of service are laid down by him and the rights and privileges which are assured to them are also protected finally and ultimately by the same functionary. The Services Sub Committee of the Round Table Conference discussed this question threadbare and was of the view that "for the Indian Civil and Indian Police Services recruitment should continue to be carried out on an All-India basis." Two members of this Sub-Committee both Indians, did not of course agree with the majority in these recommendations. They advocated immediate provincialisation of both these services.[1] They were of the view that provincial autonomy and the All-India character of these two security services could not go together. One would be inconsistent with the other. The majority of the Sub-Committee however took the view that for other reasons it was essential that the two security services should be maintained on an All-India basis.

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[1] See Report of the Services Sub-Committee, p. 250.

But although the Sub-Committee did not recommend the provincialisation of the two services, they also did not recommend that they should be recruited as before by the Secretary of State. Their recommendation was that the responsibility of recruiting and controlling the two All-India Services should be vested in the Government of India.[1] If these recommendations were carried out, the members of the Indian Civil Service would have ceased to look to the Secretary of State for inspiration and protection Their extra-Indian allegiance would have ceased altogether. But even this recommendation of the majority of the members of the Services Sub-Committee was not accepted by the British Government. In the proposals of reform, which this Government embodied in 1933 in the famous document known as the White Paper there was a suggestion that after five years of the working of provincial autonomy an enquiry would be made into the conditions of service of the Indian Civil Service. Meanwhile this body would continue to be recruited as before by the Secretary of State. The proposal of an enquiry after five years was however later dropped, and the Civilians have continued as before to be recruited by the Secretary of State. There is no suggestion now that at any time in the near or distant future the question would be reopened and the conditions of service of the Civilians would be changed.

So we may repeat that the Civilians are not only now appointed by the Secretary of State but are guaranteed by the same functionary the protection of their rights and privileges. So ultimately they have an appeal to the Secretary of State against any action taken by the different governmental authorities in India, affecting their position and powers. In order that there may not be an invasion upon the rights and privileges guaranteed to them, the Governor-General and the Governors of Provinces have been given special responsibilities by the Government of India Act. These responsibilities they have to discharge in their individual judgment.[2] If any action of the Council of Ministers is regarded by the members of the Civil Service as inconsistent with their privileges and rights, it may be turned down by the Governor. As a result of the conferment of such a special responsibility upon the Governors and the Governor-General, no action against the members of the Superior Services can be taken except with the approval of these functionaries.[1] The promotion and transfer of the officers of these Services have accordingly to be made not so much according to the will of the Ministers but according to the wishes of the heads of the provinces. It should be noted that the Governor has to exercise his responsibility in this field in his individual judgment. In other words he would consult the Ministers when a Civilian would appeal to him regarding the protection of his interests but he would not necessarily act according to their advice. He may take a line of action as he himself chooses. There is of course reason to believe that with regard to the Indian members of the Civil Service, the Governor does not usually interfere in the actions of the Ministers, provided such actions are not inconsistent with the interests of the European members of the Service. But in regard to the latter, the statutory right of the Governor hangs as the sword of Damocles over the Ministers. The promotion and transfer of the Indian members of the Civil Service may in consequence be carried out on occasions according to the whims of the Ministers, but the promotion and transfer of the European Civilians are looked after more carefully by the Governor.

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[1] *Ibid*, pp. 250-251.

[2] Section 12 (I) (*d*) and Section 52 (I) (*c*) of the Government of India Act, 1935.

This lack of control over the conditions of service of the Civilian officers explains the unhappy relations between them and the Ministers. It may not be true that since the introduction of "provincial autonomy" in 1937 the authority of the Ministers has been openly flouted and their orders positively and consistently disregarded as during the period of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms. Outwardly the Civilians have certainly become more courteous to their political chiefs in the new regime than in the old. But there is still no doubt about this that they have ample opportunity of either silently ignoring orders or carrying them out only half-heartedly and perfunctorily. The Secretaries to the Departments have specially an opportunity of intriguing against the Ministers and thwarting their wishes.

In Great Britain the Ministers are the heads of the different departments of government by virtue of the seals of office which are committed to their care by His Majesty. The permanent officers of the department have to look upon the Minister in charge as their official superior and take orders from him without demur. In fact the orders issued by the department are all his orders given either specifically or generally.[1] But the Ministers in the Indian provinces are heads of the different departments not by virtue of the seals which they may receive automatically as Ministers. They are placed in charge of the executive departments only by virtue of the rules which the Governor has been empowered to frame for "the more convenient transaction of the business of the Provincial Government."[2] These rules he is required by the Government of India Act to frame in his discretion. The Ministers, in other words, have no control over their formulation Naturally when under these rules they are placed in charge of different departments, they have to undertake their responsibility with a handicap. In fact the Government of India Act itself provides definitely for this handicap. It lays down that the rules should be so framed by the Governors as to make it possible for the Secretaries to the departments to bring directly to their notice all those departmental matters which may, in their opinion, demand the exercise of special responsibility of the Governor.[3] The Act, in other words, has made it obligatory that under the rules the Secretaries must have opportunity of approaching the Governor direct over the head of their political chiefs regarding the business of the departments. So the irritating arrangement under which the Ministers suffered so much in the old regime has survived Dyarchy and remains effective under "Provincial Autonomy."

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[1] Even then the Civilians who are aggrieved may approach the Secretary of State.

Many members of the Services seem even to have the idea that the Ministers should have nothing to do with the actual administration of a province. They are possibly more impressed by the actual words used in the Government of India Act than either by the spirit of the Act or by the rules which the Governors may frame. The Act provides that "there shall be a Council of Ministers to aid and advise the Governor in the exercise of his functions..."[4] So the individual Ministers have as such no *locus standi* in the administration of a province. Even as a Council all that they are required to do is only to aid and advise the Governor. Except in those matters in which the Governor is required to act in his discretion or in his individual judgment, the advice which the Council of Ministers happens to offer may be binding upon the Governor. But still the administration of the province is vested in the Governor and not in the Governor in Council.

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[1] See Sir Edward Troup "The Home Office," p. 3

[2] Section 59(3).

[3] Section 59(4).

[4] Section 50 (1).

The position of the Council of Ministers may roughly be regarded as analogous to that of the Governor-General's Council from 1773 to 1861. The administration had to be conducted according to the decisions of the Council.[1] But the actual administration had to be run under the supervision of the Governor-General alone. The other members of the Council had nothing to do with the administrative machine. The Council met only to discuss the affairs and arrive at decisions. But once the decisions were taken, it was for the Governor-General to give effect to them through the Secretaries and local officers. It was not till 1861 that this arrangement was abandoned in favour of the portfolio system.

Now many of the Civilians may think that the Council of Ministers is more or less in the same position under the Government of India Act as the Council of the Governor General was until 1861. That they happen to think in this vein is illustrated very definitely by the infamous Brett Circular issued in the province of Bihar in 1938. The Chief Secretary Brett issued this circular to the local officers of the Government by way of warning them that they were not to carry out any orders which the Ministers might give to them directly. It was for the local officers to give effect only to those orders which were conveyed to them by the Secretaries to the Government. It is true that under pressure of public opinion this circular was withdrawn but we do not know what might have passed behind the scene before the Chief Secretary agreed to withdraw the circular.

In fact the continuance of the Indian Civil Service controlled by, and dependent upon, not only an extra-provincial but an extra-Indian authority is the chief impediment to the working of provincial autonomy on a successful basis. It really militates against all healthy laws of administrative mechanics. The arguments which were and are advanced in favour of the organisation of the Civil Service in the provinces on existing lines do not really bear any impartial scrutiny.

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[1] It is true that since 1786 the Governor-General in some circumstances had had the right to override the decision of his Council and have his own way.

Now let us proceed to discuss the question of efficiency which also Pandit Nehru has raised and which also requires a full examination. In the 19th century when the agitation for the recruitment of Indians to superior administrative offices was thickening, it was pointed out on occasions by the British Government that the employment of Britishers in all key and pivotal positions was essential in the interests of British rule. Such an argument can be appreciated for its directness and simplicity. But when it is pointed out that in the interests of efficiency it is necessary that the Indian Civil Service should continue to exist, one may naturally feel anxious to know as to what this efficiency is like.

In the 19th and the early 20th centuries it was sedulously spread over the wide world that no body of Civil Servants had ever been more efficient, more impartial and more honest than the " heaven-born service."[1] There were two reasons why many people were deluded by this propaganda. In the first place it should be remembered that the Civil Services outside Prussia were as a rule most inefficient in both Europe and America until the fourth quarter of the last century. In the United States the spoils system which had always prevailed on a small scale was raised to the dignity of a political principle by Andrew Jackson. So deeply it struck root in the country and so intimate was its connection with the prevailing idea of democracy that nothing could be done to eradicate it during the next half century. The idea of civil service reform became in fact anathema to most people and it was not till President Garfield was shot by a disappointed office-seeker that a serious attempt could be made to take offices out of politics and make their occupants efficient and honest public servants. It was only in 1883 that the Pendleton Act was passed.

In Britain also the patronage system remained in vogue fully until the fifties and partially for years after that. Mrs. Sydney Webb has left it on record that her father used to say that a friend was he who would place his son in a post for which he was not fitted. This is not to be taken merely as a casual remark of a gentleman bred in old traditions. It embodied the underlying idea of patronage which prevailed either in pure or in diluted form in Great Britain until Mr. Gladstone's Government decided in the early seventies to introduce the system of competitive examination for recruiting civil servants. Even then it was not extended to recruitment in all departments at once. So the Civil Services both in Great Britain and in the United States were incompetent and inefficient as a rule till the last quarter of the 19th century. If compared with them the Indian Civil Service was found more competent, it was natural that this body would acquire world-wide repute. It should also be remembered in this connection that just as the Civil Servants in Eur-America were incompetent so also their responsibility and influence were very little in comparison with the responsibility and influence they wield today. The growth of the influence and authority of the Civil Service in Great Britain is due to the increasing number of complicated duties which the Government was constrained to undertake since the beginning of this century. In the 19th century the functions of Government were few and simple. The Civil Servants were in consequence mere clerks in that country. On the other hand the members of the Indian Civil Service were, as Lord Wellesley emphasised, Magistrates in charge of districts, Judges presiding over important tribunals, Governors administering large provinces, and Ambassadors of the Government to Indian Courts. Necessarily the reputation of the Civilians who occupied such important offices and wielded such large power and authority became widespread.

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[1] As late as 1924 Mr. Herbert Fisher observed in a course of lectures at Glasgow that if actually there was a body of Plato's Philosopher Kings, it was certainly the Indian Civil Service—See "Common Weal."

Secondly it should be remembered that in the 18th century the administrative system built up by the Mughals had broken down completely. There was " lack of governance " throughout the far-flung empire which the Great Mughals had ruled at one time. For decades the Indian people suffered from continuous anarchy. Out of this chaos order was gradually restored by the officers of the East India Company. The machinery for maintaining law and order which had been dislocated so completely was repaired and set up anew by these men. The officers of the Company could therefore take the same credit in India as was given by the historians to the Tudor Monarchs in England for creating order out of the great anarchy brought about by the Wars of the Roses. The efficiency of the Indian Civil Service was in fact brought out into clear relief only by this background of anarchy and chaos which prevailed in India after the death of Alamgir.

There is no doubt about this that both the Haileybury Civilians and the later *Competition-wallahs* showed ability and vigour in building up the administrative machinery which had collapsed altogether in the country and in maintaining law and order which had been violated with such impunity for three quarters of a century. In one other function also they evinced at least average capacity. It will be of course an exaggeration to say that in chalking out the system of land revenue in the different provinces they were guided by scientific principles and showed in every instance sufficient insight and consideration. But on the whole it may be said that they tackled the complicated question of land revenue with ability. In fact it was in these two fields that the Civilians had all the achievements to their credit. They succeeded in maintaining internal order and in managing the land revenue which supplied the bulk of the Government income.

Unfortunately the Civil Service became so obsessed with these two functions that they actually regarded their administrative career as absolutely bound up with the proper discharge of their responsibilities in these two fields. So long as the needs of the people were few and their civilisation was essentially pastoral and consequently simple, the demands of the Government upon the Civil Servants were also few. But Indian civilisation did not and could not remain so simple. It also became increasingly industrial and therefore complicated. The old principle of free trade which handicapped the growth of Indian industries so much had to be abandoned, and customs duty which had been imposed for years only for revenue purposes had to be levied also with the object of protection. Land revenue again could no longer meet the financial needs of the Government even to an appreciable degree. Taxes on income had to be imposed and other avenues for collecting money had to be explored. So the duties of government became increasingly intricate irrespective of the political changes in the country. But such changes were rosponsible for creating a new outlook among the people, and as a result of this new outlook people began to make new demands upon the Government.

Even before the introduction of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms there was for long a widespread demand for the compulsory extension of elementary education among the people. After the passing of the Government of India Act, 1919, this demand gained an increasing momentum. Similarly the problems of sanitation, medical relief, rural indebtedness, and middle-class unemployment came increasingly to the foreground. In pre-Reform days some of these problems were dismissed with scant attention and some were not allowed even to enter the forbidden field of government jurisdiction. But since 1921 they have loomed larger and larger. The maintenance of internal peace is as important today as ever before. But the efficiency of the Civil Service can no longer be judged by this test alone. In fact it can and should be judged better by the way that the Civil Servants tackle the nation-building problems.

But it is surprising to find, as it has been pointed out already at the beginning of a previous paragraph, that the Civilians are still obsessed with the two old functions of maintaining peace and managing land revenue. The two years of training which they have to pass immediately after entering the Service are devoted almost exclusively to these problems. The emphasis which they happen to place upon these functions early in their career certainly colours their outlook to a large extent throughout their official life. They continue to attach importance only to their duties as Revenue Collectors and Magistrates. They do not take very seriously the nation-building functions. As a result of this, when they are actually placed in charge of such work, they find themselves at sea. It was in 1934 that a new post, that of the Development Commissioner, was created in Bengal. As it was thought by the Government that none but an I. C. S. officer could take responsibility for such an office, a senior Civilian who had been the Secretary to a department before was chosen to be its first incumbent. He had no idea as to the duties which the Development Commissioner was to perform. He held the office for about six months and could, during this period, only mark time. Then he took leave and went to England. During his absence which was long, another European Civilian was placed temporarily in his job. He also attended office and marked time until the permanent incumbent returned from leave. The latter in due course returned to his post indeed but he found it difficult to adjust himself to the demands of his office. At last the Commissionership of a Division fell vacant and on the ground of seniority he felt relieved to be appointed to it. This is only one illustration of the lack of adjustability to new kinds of work which is noticeable so much now among the Civilians.

It is common knowledge again that in questions of complicated finance the Indian Civilians have proved in most cases hopelessly incompetent. Since Sir Malcolm Hailey was transferred from the portfolio of Finance to the Home Department in 1923, no member of the Indian Civil Service had opportunity of holding this office until recently. What does this prove ? In 1937 again when a change was contemplated in the principles of Income Tax collection, the work in that connection could not be entrusted to any member of the Indian Civil Service. A comparatively junior officer from the department of inland revenue in England was imported for the purpose.[1]

It has been a tradition in India to refer bills or draft bills to the local officers of the Goverhment for opinion. In the past when government was absolutely bureaucratic in form and character, it was upon these opinions that the fate of a bill would depend. But even now when bills are circularised for opinion, the Divisional and District officers are encouraged to submit their views. Similarly when commissions and committees are constituted for studying certain problems and recommending measures for tackling them, these officers are asked to submit evidences and appear as witnesses before them. Anybody who reads these opinions and evidences perceives how poor their quality has become of late ! Except in few cases, these opinions do not seem to be of any value. The Agricultural Produce Markets Bill is now in the Select Committee Stage in Bengal. It is a complicated Bill and deals with a new subject. It was naturally expected that the opinions of the District and Divisional Officers would be helpful to the members of the Legislature. But except in two instances these opinions are puerile. The same may be said of their opinions in regard to many other matters.

Apart from the question of ability, it is to be admitted that the civilians do not even show sufficient enthusiasm for their work. That the members of the Indian Civil Service have no heart in their work was pointed out first by one of themselves. The anonymous author of the attractive book, *The Lost Dominion*, which was published in the middle twenties, was later discovered to have been a member of the Indian Civil Service in Sind. He gave it out for a fact that his colleagues had been so disheartened by the Reforms that they thought it useless to pay any serious attention to their work.[2] They only somehow did their routine work and waited for the time when they would retire with full pension. Now whatever may be the cause, the fact which " Al Carthill " stated so baldly has been found to be true in every province. The Civilians only mark time.

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[1] It should be noted in this connection that a member of the I.C.S., J. B. Bird, recently committed suicide in Bombay. The alleged ground was that he could not cope with the complicated duties of income tax assessment which were entrusted to him.

[2] " The Lost Dominion " (1924), p. 320.

In case the Indian Civil Service is still maintained as an instrument of government, it is high time that the system of its training is changed. If democratic government in the Indian provinces is to be made fruitful at all, it is necessary that the Civil Servants must learn at the beginning of their career to place as much emphasis upon nation-building work as upon their other duties. Professor Ernest Barker of Cambridge suggested some years back that in England the Civil Servants who would be employed in social service departments might be recruited at a later age (between 24 and 28) from among those graduates who had spent some time in social service work and acquired both experience and zeal in this field.[1] It is true that this suggestion has not yet been acted up to in Great Britain, and we have no definite idea as to what result the experiment will yield. But the suggestion may still be borne in mind by the Indian authorities.

It has been the practice in India again to make the responsible officers in the different departments of the Secretariat mere birds of passage. The Assistant Secretaries are recruited in many cases from among the Deputy Magistrates who have held the office of Subdivisional Magistrate. They remain in the Secretariat for three years and then revert to district work. The Deputy Secretaries and Secretaries are as a rule recruited from among the I.C.S. Officers. They also hold these offices for the same period and then revert to district work.[2] The first year they spend at the Secretariat in only picking up the technique of work. The second year they devote to the acquisition of knowledge as to the past history of the problems which confront them. In the third year they get prepared to leave the Secretariat. The Ministers are not expected to carry to their offices anything but common sense and general ability. They expect their permanent assistants to possess expert detailed knowledge as to the questions which they are to solve. But the permanent officers are as much novice in these matters as their political chiefs. Bagehot remarked decades ago that if lay mind was to rule, it must be instructed. But who will instruct the lay mind of our Ministers? It is time that the system of recruitment to the responsible offices in the Secretariat is changed.

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[1] See article on The Home Civil Service in the "Political Quarterly," 1936, p. 203.

[3] In the Central Government they are appointed for a period of five years.

The present writer does not believe that on the basis of the existing organisation of the Civil Service, any reforms of a comprehensive character can be initiated. The Indian Civil Service has become an anachronism in the new order of things. But if it has still to be maintained its system of training should be changed and the system of recruitment to the Secretariat should be altered.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF HARDY'S DETERMINISM—III

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PSYCHO-PHYSICAL DETERMINISM (1870 AND AFTER)

ALTOGETHER the post-compromise period is remarkable for the deterministic influences of science both on the Continent and in England. They diminish man's place in the universe. Taine and the materialistic philosophy situated him in the animal world. After 1870 the realists were bent on diminishing him into a mere fluke of nature subject to all sorts of hazards, only that the Russians had still their faith in man inspite of his sins, crimes and craziness. Man was to be dealt with like plants and animals in nature study. Given a puissant man, Zola postulated, and an unassuaged woman, the problem is to find the animal in them, even to find only the animal. Hardy was not impervious to these influences. But he was not the man to break away completely from the past and create like the Symbolists [1] and Parnassians [2] a medium of their own. We do find the influence of the Parnassians in the poetry of Hardy in his attempt to give expression to the stern realites of life that strike his imagination. He is also under the influence of the theories of Hartmann and Schopenhauer. After 1880 his works have the touches of the theories of Charcot, Theodore Ribot, Pierre Janet and William James.

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[1] The Progenitors of the Symbolists in French Literature were Bandeiaire (1821-69), Rimband, and Verlaine (1844-96). They took over many ideas later on from the criticism and poetry of Edgar Allan Poe. Also, they tried to invent a French verse form that would correspond to Whitman's (1819-92). Whitman's "Trum-Taps," vivid poems on the Civil War, were published in 1865 There is a reference to a line of his in Hardy's earliest work "Desperate Remedies" (1871) : "I foresee too much; it means more than I thought" (p. 146, Macmillan's edition, 1926) We may suppose that Hardy knew of the Symbolic Movement but kept aloof from its technique. Mallarmé (1842-98), its experimenter, was a contemporary of Hardy. A symbolic use of the trivial in Hardy occurs in the moment Tess waits outside the door of Clare's father, whom she is destined not to see, abstractedly watching a blood-stained piece of wrapping paper and several straws that whirled heavily in an eddy of the ceaseless wind.

[2] The creed of the Parnassians corresponded in a manner to the higher realism in prose. The leader of this school was Théophile Gautier (1811-72) who called himself "a man for whom the exterior world exists." He made an effort to translate into poetry this world that he observed and knew without injecting into it his own personality. The symbolist attempted to invent a new medium to express the unconscious in man in poetry as the usual language was too deficient to serve as their vehicle. The bulk of the Parnassian theories, mixed with a few theories from the Symbolists, was taken over between 1910 and 1920 by a short-lived school of English and American poets who called themselves "Imagists."

But he was loath to go the whole length either with the symbolists in prose and poetry, or with the technicians in fiction like Henry James and George Moore. The latter part of his life was spent in the midst of these literary activities and he was presumably not unaware of them. But he never consciously accepted them and incorporated them in his works.[1] By his own theory of Unconsciousness, there was no escape from the *milieu*, the ferment of his times. A stray glance, a casual meeting or remark, all have far-reaching repercussions in the lives of his characters, and on his own showing we can hold that in some measures he did absorb the literary and philosophical tendencies of his time. " The greater writer, " says Granville Hicks, " has been wholly and unmistakably of his age, and, by mastering it, has left something of value for succeeding ages." [2] T. S. Eliot's remark that " it is only in the emotional paroxysms that most of Hardy's characters come alive " is true to the extent that he is at his best in depicting the vehemence with which unconscious influences overwhelm character. Tess is at her best when the whole history of her association with Alec comes to a point in a physical and emotional revolt from his bondage. The violence of the fatal stab is the violence of the feelings let loose from their repression. In the conflict that ensued in her between her repulsion from Angel Clare for his desertion and her attraction to the loathsome figure of Alec for he was making amends for his mischief she had made a sporting offer of her person and had suppressed all sense of fidelity to her wedded husband. The appearance of Angel and the recollection of the lies uttered by Alec turned the balance. In the words of Pierre Janet the strongest of the " several potentialities " existing at the same time in the same individual exerted itself and flooded the whole being of Tess.

" Tess " was published in 1891, eleven years after " The Way of All Flesh " had been written. Naturalism, one can safely say, did enter into the works of Hardy. We find traces of it in George Eliot's "Adam Bede"[1] as early as 1859. But Hardy was too Victorian to flout all canons of the traditional novelists. He had burnt his boats and was a novelist by profession. We must give him credit for not mincing his opinions, though he could not go the whole length with a naturalistic novelist. Nor can we judge him by the standard of our times or the standard at the beginning of the twentieth century. He was living at a time when Butler had to shove away "The Way of All Flesh" in the cupboard all his life. What may be considered as evasion today and was felt like it at the turn of the nineteenth century was shockingly immoral in the 'seventies and 'eighties when a considerable part of Hardy's work was done. In the 'nineties he had gone very far indeed and the storm of opposition set up by the publication of "Jude the Obscure" compelled him to give up novel writing altogether. Yet he had blazoned the track. He shares with George Eliot and Meredith the honour of being a pioneer, of laying the foundation on which was reared the naturalistic, the proletarian and symbolic novel of England in the twentieth century. "Hardy is," says George Moore, "George Eliot's many miscarriages." Be that as it may, the years before the *début* of George Moore were not sterile. Miscarriages are an incident in Nature's attempt to procreate and evolve, if we accept Nietzsche and Shaw's version, the Superman. Hardy had at least brought scientific outlook into literature and stood up for it. He did not retrace his steps. Those who dubbed his work as evasive, are being criticized now for being too abstracted and contemplative. Henderson says of present-day fiction: "It is precisely this attitude of evasion that is responsible for the present devitalised condition of the English novel as compared with what is being produced in America, France and Russia."[2]

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[1] Hardy's novels prior to " Tess " show naturalistic features but there is no indication that they are of French origin.—Margery Oliver. See " The Influence of French Naturalism on English Fiction " by Margery Oliver, p. 44.

"After 1880," says Walter L. Myers in "Later Realism :" "French Naturalism became evident in the subjective characterizations of English realism. In novels showing this influence more clearly there is a tendency towards smaller passages of reflection, there is a greater consciousness of scene on the part of the characters than was the case in the older English novel, and there is use of trivial or apparently irrelevant details of perception, a device of great importance in recent practice.

All these may be noted in Hardy's work. Although he does not insist on the trivial or irrelevant as a matter of consciousness, he occasionally gives it that value; for on many a page he adroitly advances his narrative by making his reader aware, in one and the same phrase, of minute attendant circumstances and of moods in those present. Thus the trivial becomes more than actuality." (See "Tess," page 209.)—" Later Realism," pp. 141-42.

[2] " The Novel of Today " by Philip Henderson—quoted by Henderson at p. 16.

However, it is not the vagaries of art that should detain us here. Deterministic philosophy finds its fullest expression in Naturalism which also shows its limits. By his restraint Hardy succeeds in making an analytic study of the unconscious force which works tragically for unfortunate men and women. This sense of imperfection of the universe is to be found in Bernard Shaw as well. But the "will" which is responsible, according to Hardy, for so many wasted lives, is, according to Shaw, in travail to produce the Superman. He too believes in determinism. The future, he holds, is being determined by physical laws and the empirical standards of human conduct. But they are evolving a higher universe and a nobler sphere of human thought and activity. In his works the fond hope with which Hardy closed "The Dynasts" finds its fulfilment. He sardonically remarks that he thinks of himself as being a living proof of the correctness of Tennyson's famous line: "God fulfils himself in many ways." Like Hardy he believes that human institutions are neither perfect nor divine. Their divine origin, as Burke was tempted to call them, was a fancy which made him discover sacredness in the very dust that overlaid old documents. A similar fancy led the superficial Victorian poets to declare that it was God who fulfilled Himself in many ways. Shaw claims to be a realist and declares that human institutions are neither natural nor holy. "They are only human institutions which should not be allowed to outlast their earthly utility. The peculiarity about Shaw is that he is not only a realist but also a caricaturist and he is a caricaturist because a breaker of idols." [1] In his metaphysical speculation Bernard Shaw comes very near to Hardy, except that he looks forward confidently to the perfection of humanity. He accepts the view that the will is the essence of reality but rejects the Schopenhaurean philosophy of struggle and pain. According to him the striving of the will is not due to any deficiency, as Schopenhauer thought, but to an inner necessity for completer expression and fuller evolution. His originality consists in (*a*) his attempt to discover the ultimate creative purpose of the will, and (*b*) in looking upon the conflict as absolutely inessential to life. From this it follows that the Life-Force is callous to everything except creation, it is absolutely non-moral. The use of intellect is called for because, in the words of Don Juan, "without it he blunders into death." In all this Hardy's position is very much like that of Shaw's. But he would surely dissent from the second point of Shaw's thesis. The creative process is a-moral but somehow the conflict appears to be unavoidable at this stage of development. Maybe in some distant future "consciousness the will informing" it may cease to be a handicap.

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[1] See "Adam Bede" by George Eliot, p. 51 (Chap. IV)—Death of Adam's father; or details of the murder of Hetty's child. *Cf.* the Trial Scene in "Tess."

[2] "The Novel of Today" by Henderson, p. 19. Strangely enough this was also the complaint of Forster: "History changes, Art stands still. And when Art has changed, it is complained it is all in the wrong direction."

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[1] "The Art of Bernard Shaw" by S C. Sen-Gupta, pp. 5, 6.

Last but not the least in importance is Shaw's reaction (which was also Hardy's) to sex morality and standard of conduct in the lives of men and women. He holds—and rightly so – that a recognition of the truth about sex would be fatal to the institutions which respectable people hold dear. These noble and beautiful things are very good as ideals, but they are untrue because they have no connection with the primal instincts of man. Sex is a biological necessity and marriage an economic problem None of these factors can be sanctified by any amount of religious dogmatizing. Once marriage and sex-relations have been freed from the taboo of society and men and women are free to follow the bent of their mind and the urge of their instincts, a changed society will result. Hardy also emphasizes the evils resulting from a hidebound system of traditional sex morality, and points out how Jude and Sue suffer for being rebels. The fact of the matter is that Shaw is a comedian and Hardy is a novelist of the grim realistic school, of which Samuel Butler (1875-1902) and Gissing (1857-1903) are other important members. Each of these is increasingly influenced by French Naturalism which made itself felt in England after 1880. In France it begins in Flaubert and reaches its climax in Zola, the Goncourts, Daudet and Guy de Maupassant. In England George Eliot is influenced by Baudelaire, Hardy by Zola,[1] Butler by Zola, the Goncourts, Daudet and Maupassant and so also Gissing. Like their French masters they also tried to depict reality in its throbbing fullness and its tragic possibilities, only that Hardy did not go the whole length. Naturalism merges into symbolism on the French soil, in the British Isles it culminates in the works of James Joyce and Virginia Woolf.

Mention must be made of Freud (1856-1939) who studied under the great neurologist Charcot [2] in Paris and was by 1886, when Hardy was contemplating or writing his best works, entering upon his labours which have immortalised his name as the inventor of psycho-analysis. The importance he attached to unconsciousness and the sex aberrations it led to was appreciated and accepted by Guy de Maupassant, if not so completely by the earlier writers. There is no record of Hardy having come under the influence of Freud or interested himself in his work. Yet "Jude the Obscure" betrays a recognition, if not the knowledge, of the principles enunciated by Freud. Jude's son betrays a knowledge of the futility of procreation which is unusual for the children of his age. His mother pleads necessity: "Y—you must forgive me, little Jude, I can't explain—I will when you are older. It does seem as if I had done it on purpose, now we are in these difficulties! I can't explain, dear! But it—is not quite on purpose—I can't help it!"[1] This curiosity could only arise from an urge to know what sex function was like. The child being a little crazy gives the freest expression to his inner thought and feeling which many another, in whom censor is vigilant and strong, would not. Whatever the real nature of influence that the psycho-analytic researches on the Continent had on Hardy, he was fully aware of the deterministic tendencies of sex in the affairs of men and women. "Desperate Remedies" (1871), "A Pair of Blue Eyes" (1873), "Far from the Madding Crowd" (1874), "The Return of the Native" (1878), "Two on a Tower" (1882), "The Mayor of Casterbridge" (1886), "The Woodlanders" (1887), "Tess of the D'Urberville" (1891) and "Jude the Obscure" (1896) all set forth the consequences of sex attraction and repulsion. Lascelles Abercrombie enunciates the following formulæ to illustrate the pull of sex: Suppose A_1 stands for masculine simplicity, A_2 for feminine simplicity, B_1 for masculine complexity and B_2 for feminine complexity. Then we have—

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[1] See page 39.

[2] Rutland seems to discountenance the influence of Naturalism, but believes that in the early nineties Hardy was under the influence of Ibsen. He says : " . . . it is easy to see that *Jude the Obscure* owes something to Ibsen . : . Readers of *Jude* will suspect that he knew something of *The Dolls House* and of *Ghosts*."—" Thomas Hardy : A Study of His Writings and Their Background " (pub. 1938), pp. 252-53. It is not intended to maintain here that French influenced Hardy's work. We hold that Hardy, in his works and poems, anticipated the conclusions formulated by Freud. Hardy was a Freudian before Freud. See " The Human Pair in the work of T. Hardy " by Pierre D'Exideuil (Humphrey, London, 1929), AppendixI, pp. 191-96.

"In *Far from the Madding Crowd* A_1 loves B_2 who loves B_1, who loves A_2" *i.e.*, Gabriel Oak loves Bathsheba, who loves Sergeant Troy, who loves too late the simple Fanny Robin.

"In *The Return of the Native*, A_1 loves A_2, who loves B_1, who loves B_2," *i.e.*, Diggory Venn loves Thomas in Yeobright, who loves Damon Wildeve, who loves Eustacia Vye.

"In *The Woodlanders* A_2 loves A_1, who loves B_2, who loves B_1," *i.e.*, Marty South loves Giles Winterbourne, who loves Grace Melbury, who loves Fitzpiers, who loves Mrs. Charmond.[2]

These problems and perplexities were taken up for a scientific treatment by Havelock Ellis in "Man and Woman" (1894), "Sexual

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[1] "Jude the Obscure" by Hardy, p. 399 (Macmillan, Cottage Library Edition).

[2] "Thomas Hardy" by Lascelles Abercrombie, p. 71.

Inversion" (1897), "Analysis of the Sexual Impulse" (1903), "Erotic Symbolism" (1906), and latterly in "The Psychology of Sex" (1923). Sex, according to Hardy, is a disruptive force. Nature has implanted this impulse in man and hence his behaviour is determined by the urges which he has inherited from his animal ancestry. Heredity often aggravates its supposed evils, and social taboos worsen the lot of the unhappy man or woman who has taken a false (however inadvertent though) step. Havelock Ellis stresses the same difficulty: "On the one hand we have the disappearance of the traditional taboos, based on external authority . . . . . . ; on the other hand we have the insistence . . . . . . on the new uniformity which a new social solidarity is making."[1] The question of social taboos so pointedly raised towards the close of the nineteenth century still presents a thorny problem. Wells in "The World of William Clissold" remarks: "It is the nature of sexual desire to be inordinate. This is the crux of this perennial perplexity of our species." Nature is non-moral, it pays no heed to social restraints. It cares neither for waste of life nor for the ignominy of society. "Take your chance. More of you to live or more of you to die. What does it matter to me," says Nature. Shaw would suggest: Make sex love and enjoyment "impersonal." And civilized man, says Joseph Tenenbaum, "is, to a large extent, exempt from all too rigorous terms of sex regulations which dominate sex relations in nature."[2] William Lloyd goes farther and holds that marriage is love companionship of a man and a woman, and according to him it has no necessary connection with children, with house keeping or even with living in the same house. And when there is no such true marriage, where love has been supplanted by hate, the merest form of it, however sanctified by law or custom, is "hypocrisy and stultification of fact."[3] "It is a hold over from ancient slavery, still idealized in our present barbarism."[4]

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[1] "Function of Taboos"—"Selected Essays" by Havelock Ellis, p. 261. Havelock Ellis is conscious of the problems which vexed the mind of Hardy. He says: "We distinguish a modern stream in imaginative literature which arose about the middle of the last century and gradually gained full strength and influence towards the beginning of the present century, while at the same time as that stream arose an older stream was failing. Victor Hugo was the supreme European representative of the earlier stream, Ibsen may be said to represent the later stream. Zola stands as the world famous representative of the transition between the two." We can bracket Hardy with Zola as representing the transition from George Eliot and George Meredith to Gissing.

[2] "The Riddle of Sex" by Joseph Tenenbaum, p. 19.

[3] "Sex in Civilization," p 239.

[4] "Thomas Hardy" by Lascelles Abercrombie, p. 71.

Hardy is quite aware of these hardships. Eustacia Vye could have saved her own life and spared so much misery to Clym Yeobright if she had acted on the advice held forth in our times as a panacea for the ills of matrimonial life. The public trial of the wife of George IV for adultery and his contempt for her and Browning's "The Ring and the Book," "Pippa Passes," "Fifre at the Fair" and "Sordello," the illegal union of George Eliot with G. H. Lewes, and the scandalous escapade of George Meredith's first wife, had all brought the question of sex relations and their ethics and psychology to the fore. Hardy does not burke issues. But he does not raise airy hopes. He knows that it is easy to flout but not so easy to abolish social taboos. Conservatism is ingrained in human nature and so is anthropomorphism. In her hour of trial Sue retraces her steps and hugs the religious and social forms she had flouted and discarded in the fullness and flush of youth. Nor is hate always mutual. Sue may hate Phillotson but even the most provocative deal would not make him part with her without a wrench that leaves him shaken and pessimistic all his life. The decision of Sue to return to her wedded husband is not shared by Jude and even when broken down by illness something in him forces him to bear the hardships and trials of a bootless journey to have a word with, or a parting look at, the woman of his heart. Human nature being what it is, Hardy feels diffident of overnight improvement or change for the best. For coquettes no problems arise nor for the complex characters like Wildeve, though they are often caught in their own net, but the same cannot be said of Tess, Clym and Jude. It is only in the conflict of the simple and the complex that the tragedy of the soul is witnessed in its most poignant form, and it is, says Hardy, not easy or probable to get over it soon or in the near future. And so long as we do not, we have to recognise the deterministic influences we are subject to because of the sex impulse implanted in us by the Primal Force.

The problem that humanity has been and is faced with is, as Nietzsche said, to fuse Apollo and Dionysus in us by "some supreme effort of human will" into an indivisible entity. George Meredith also longs for this union of the two phases of Nature—Artemis and Aphrodite :

Both are mighty;
Both give bliss
Each can torture if divided;

Each claims worship undivided,
In her wake would have us wallow . . . . [1]

Aphrodite is the sensuous-beautiful aspect. It draws man on to abandonment and is followed by torture if he has not been able to crush the old worm of the self in himself. But no devotion to Artemis can save us from being drawn to Aphrodite. Asceticism is easier preached than practised. Man is earth's " great adventure "—not necessarily her lord and master. Leslie Stephen approached the problem of human destiny as a philosopher and felt that the promised hope of reconciliation of senses and the spirit, the resolution of contending forces in nature into unity and of beautitude in a life hereafter, was moonshine. Justifying his agnostic frame of mind, he says, if it " summarily rejects these imbecilities, and would restrain the human intellect from wasting its powers on the attempt to galvanise into sham activity this *caput mortuum* of old theology, nobody need be afraid of the name." [2] The Deists held that since the God of Revelation was unjust, he could not be the God of Nature. They, therefore, set about speculating about a just God as the Primal Cause of the universe. To this Butler retorted : " The God of Revelation may be the God of Nature, for the God of Nature is unjust." [3] Charles Bradlaugh pleaded, therefore, for atheism. " In the mind of the theist ' God ' is equivalent to the sphere of the unknown. . . . The more ignorant the theist, the more numerous his gods. Belief in God is not a faith founded on reason." [4] Religion is, therefore, a mere anodyne to dupe the believers into an unreal belief. As humanity advances and opens the Book of Nature, we find that " in all things there is cruel, profligate, and abandoned waste. . . . . " [5] The inevitable impression left behind on a critical observation of nature is that " the law of murder is the law of growth." [2] The struggle for existence makes it imperative. And there is also waste even in moral life. The instinct of love planted in the human breast, while it occasions solace to some, is a torture to others. " How many hearts yearning for affection are blighted in solitude and coldness ? How many women seated by their lovely firesides are musing of the days that might have been ?"[47] Hardy has caught this spirit of the time, deterministic and pessimistic, and in the analysis of his works that we attempt in the following chapters we shall trace this philosophy of life in human affairs as presented to us in his poems, the epic drama and the novels. Like Mark Twain he often pokes fun at the frivolity of man's existence. "We are the tail end of a tapeworm of ancestry."[1] So long as Christianity was accepted as a creed to be unquestionably believed, the sufferings to which man is subject were associated with the Cross. But in an age torn with doubts the sufferings seemed "only the work of some maleficent, or faintly sardonic, indifferent demon, informing the universe."[2] This is at times the view of Hardy as well, and he calls the force behind the universe as malevolent. But he was not the only novelist to deprecate religion. Meredith had also done it. "If there are not many open attacks, there is the creation of an atmosphere in which religion is felt to be out of place."[3] And what is really saddening is that "man is represented as in the grip of agencies so powerful that his own will is unable to make head against them."[3]

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[1] George Meredith, " Poems," Vol. III, p. 185.
[2] " An Agnostic's Apology " by Leslie Stephen, p. 4.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 17.
[4] ' Humanity's Gain from Unbelief " by Charles Bradlaugh, p. 53.
[5] " The Martyrdom of Man " by Winwood Reade p. 415.

HARDY'S PESSIMISM

This realization of helpless situation of humanity in the universe is often described as pessimistic outlook. According to Madeleine L. Cazamian pessimism is above all a reaction of sensibility, of temperament; it is profoundly individual.[4] In most cases those who have condemned this world are those naturally predisposed to grief or are victims of some cruel destiny. But the very fact that some are afflicted with grief belies the faith in a beneficent purpose or in the divine being. After a period of complacence which ended about 1860 and growing internal unrest till 1870 the theme of pessimism appeared in Reviews a little after 1870, first at rare intervals, and then more frequently. Frohschammer and Lawrenny published their views in 1871 and 1872 respectively. Hueffer in 1875 harped on it in the *Fortnightly Review*. His views identify him with the Naturalistic and Pessimistic thought of the Continent. In 1876 Helen Zimmern described the interest that her contemporaries and countrymen were taking in the philosophy of despair in the preface to her work on Schopenhauer. A year after appeared James Sully's historical and critical study of Pessimism. He attempted to explain why this doctrine was actually adopted by a large number of people as their religion. Other important studies on the subject were "The Ultimatum of Pessimism" by J. W. Barlow (1882), "Pessimism and Religious Conscience" by T. B. Kilpatrick (1883), "The Modern Pessimism" by J. R. Thomson (1885) and "The Modern Pessimism—Its Cause and its Cure" by C. Williams (1885). The causes of this vogue for pessimism lay in the philosophy and science of those times. "The Study of Sociology" by Spencer whic happeared in 1873 contained a violent attack against Christianity. Huxley had flings at the most eminent clergymen. The "Autobiography" of John Stuart Mill (1873) ,his "Essays on Religion" (1874), "Essays and Review" by "The Seven against Christ" and Walter Bagehot's "Estimates" caused a profound sensation. The orthodox faith was shaken and unhappy individuals turned away from stoic resignation to seek the causes of their unhappiness in the evils of society or unequal distribution of wealth. The ethics of life and conduct evolved and developed by a class with its own vested interests, religious or political, did not satisfy the disheartened, the afflicted and the downtrodden. Those who, like Hardy and Gissing, were temperamentally melancholic gave expression to their philosophic views in their works, so bitter in their resentment and so slashing in their onslaught on the dogmatic faith in a beneficent divine being. The development of science, particularly the influence of the theory of evolution, sapped the foundation of ancient institutions and hardy beliefs in the goodness ot God. Not only did man lose his importance as the cream of creation, but psycho-physiology of the time gave rise to a determinism which refused him liberty of action and of thought. His efforts and his volitions were the sport of an inexorable Nature, a conscious mechanism ingrained in the universe. The "Memoirs" of Henry Sidgwick (1838-1900) show in his philosophy a heroic spirit, suffering and divided. He is a disciple of Spencer and is impregnated with the ideas of Positivists. R. Buchanan published a series of letters in the *Daily Chronicle* under the title "Is Christianity Played Out?". The scepticism which resulted from the advance of science and the filtration of Positivistic beliefs through the works of George Eliot was deepened by the vogue for the philosophy of Schopenhauer. From 1875 to 1890 his doctrine is expounded, commented upon and discussed by the prominent Reviews and in the books of philosophy.[1]

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[1] "What is Man ?" by Mark Twain, p. 5.

[2] "English Critical Essays—Twentieth Century" (Boamy, Dobrée), Thomas Hardy, 331.

[3] "Religion in the Victoria Era" by L. E. Elliot (Binns), p. 343.

[4] "Le Roman et les Idées en Angleterre" by M. L. Cazamian, p. 243 : "Le pessimisme est avant tout une reaction de sensibilité, de temperament; il est profondement individuel."

Schopenhauer not only enjoyed immense popularity in England, but in France, Flaubert, one of the masters of the Naturalistic fiction and the most admired in England, was one of his first disciples. His literary doctrine, in fastening his imagination on the lives of the mediocrity and the ugly, helped to devolop in him—as in the Goncourts and Maupassant—bitterness and disgust for the spectacle of life. The *Athenæum* noted, in 1882 and in the following years, the deepening of pessimism due to the influx of foreign influences, like those of Schopenhauer, and a little later that of Baudelaire and Maupassant. This pessimism arises from realism which was the favourite theme of the French novelists, and which influenced George Eliot, Samuel Butler, T. Hardy, G. Gissing, G. Moore and M. Wood. The realistic novels of Turgenev appearing towards the end of 1872, and those of Tolstoy after 1878, influenced English novels through their translations. Dostoievski was made available in English between 1881 and 1897, Gogol between 1886 and 1892. The *Athenæum* wrote an article in 1883 on the death of Turgenev. This variety of fiction expressed the condemnation of society and disgust of the world, encouraged renunciation and stressed a sort of nihilism in Russia, France and England. A sombre philosophy of life had entered literature. About 1890 Ibsen was a distinct influence on English literature, though many translations of his pieces had appeared even earlier. Shaw's "The Quintessence of Ibsenism" was an epoch-making work because it accentuated the forces of disintegration of society in the fiction and drama. Conservative though the English temperament is, these realistic tendencies made themselves felt increasingly from 1848. They made their appearance first in the poetry of Fitzgerald's "The Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam" and then by 1867 in the verse of Clough and Arnold. Clough painted the torment of conscience placed between the necessity to act and the inward scruples and therefore powerless to resolve the doubts. Arnold, on the other hand, gives vent to a profound sense of melancholy at the discord between moral aspirations and the recklessness of Nature. He chafed at the psychological limitation and the vain nostalgia of human beings. He grieved at a life without end and without hope. James Thomson's "City of the Dreadful Night" appeared in 1874, the year Hardy published "Far from the Madding Crowd." So Hardy's pessimism is not the brooding of a solitary soul. It results from the realistic tendencies of the third quarter of the nineteenth century. Science, philosophy and the naturalistic tendencies coming from the Continent all serve to deepen the gloom that evolutionary empiricism and positivism had already cast over George Eliot and Leslie Stephen. Hardy, while avoiding the excesses of the Naturalistic school in France, is in sympathy with their objective and his work is a monument of the philosophical tendencies of an epoch which encouraged all forms of pessimism. The traditional ideas of good and virtue were receiving a rude shock or were being destroyed. In the absence of faith in moral laws clearly defined and revealed by an inscrutable authority and all-powerful God, man was led to question his own motives and to evaluate a fresh human conduct. The subterfuge of self-respect, the hypocrisy of gilding impulses and the supposed feebleness of the flesh and weakness of the heart, were all subjected to a searching analysis. The old order was dying, the new was yet to be born. The age of dogma and Victorian prudery was passing away but the age of enlightenment had not yet dawned. Hardy held that it was the privilege of a novelist and a writer to express his views on the two important subjects, of which everybody thought, but nobody had the courage and conviction to speak out his mind fearlessly, *viz.*, "la position de l'homme et de la femme dans l'universe et les croyances religieuses admises par eux."[1] But his realism is not the realism of the French novelists. He defined his position definitely in "Science and Novel." Realism is an unfortunate and ambiguous word and comprises all sorts of servile limitations, gross liberty or brutality. Mere observation is not enough for an artist ; he must have intuition, for it was necessary to listen to "l'harmonie silencieuse et triste des sentiments humains."[2]

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[1] "Schopenhauer" by F. Hueffer (*Fortnightly Review*, 1875); "Schopenhauer—His Life and His Philosophy" by H. Zimmern, 1876; "Pessimism" by James Sully, 1877. "The Goal of Modern Thought" by W. S. Lilly (*Nineteenth Century*, 1882); "The Ultimatum of Pessimism" by J. W Barlow, 1882; "Modern Pessimism" by J. R. Thomson, 1885; "Life of A. Schopenhauer" (Great Writers series) by W. Wallace, 1890; "Aspects of Pessimism" by R. M. Wenley 189 ; "Schopenhauer's System in its Philosophical Significance" by W. Caldwell, 1896; See "Le Pessimisme Do Thomas Hardy par Ridder" by Barzin, pp. 164-65.

This realism does not exclude Idealism in the sense that the attempt is to formulate an absolute in which the partial ideas got by human observation can cohere and of which complete truth may be predicated. But the attempt for Hardy results in a frustration and this sense of frustration is a predominant note of all his works. Idealism in philosophy means (1) the objects of our knowledge are our own mental states, (2) the universe is a single all-embracing unity, which may be most accurately described as knowledge, and that minds and objects are only aspects or expressions of this unity. The advocates of the former are known as subjective idealists and of the latter as idealists. Berkeley (1685-1753) holds that the ideas we know do, in fact, exist independently of our knowledge, since they continue to exist as ideas in the mind of God. This position was simply untenable for Hardy. According to Kant the mind is furnished initially with a number of general ideas or concepts which he called "forms of intuition" (space and time) and "principle of understanding" (quantity, quality, and causality are examples), which form a sort of framework into which everything that we know is fitted, and with which it must conform. Hegel (1770-1831) followed Kant in maintaining a distinction between the world of appearance and the world of reality, but in his philosophy the world reality is differently conceived. Instead of containing the many noumena of Kant's system, it is or contains one thing only, namely, "The Absolute" and this includes the world of appearancea lso. This Absolute of Hegel is taken up by Schopenhauer and is treated as Will in his work "The World as Will and Idea." The World of Appearance, including our own selves, is Idea, a mere manifestation of Will which is trying to undo us so as to work itself out in its own blind way. Hartmann improves upon this and treats the blind will as unconsciousness. Hardy's realism accepts the evils of life as facts but it goes beyond it and merges into idealism inasmuch as he conceives of a primal force or will which is working with a blind push and knows neither good nor evil. It moulds and determines all things in its own fashion. Hence his philosophy is deterministic and because individuals have to take their chance for such little happiness as is possible for them in this universe it is pessimistic. The conception of evolution is borrowed from the evolutionary empiricists but in combining it with German idealism and literary realism coming from the Continent or resulting from unrest at home and Naturalistic influences from abroad, Hardy changes both Naturalism and Idealism beyond recognition. So realism is not mere observation for him ; it is achieved through intuition, that is, perception of the place of our observations in an Absolute. This perception, as we have said before, is associated with a sense of frustration, arising either out of Hardy's melancholy temperament or his anguish at the sorrows and sufferings of humanity. In either case it makes his outlook pessimistic.[1]

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[1] "Roman et les Idées en Angleterre" by M. L. Cazamian, p. 379.

[2] "Roman et les Idées en Angleterre" by M. L. Cazamian, p. 380.

HARDY'S DETERMINISM

We are now in a position to summarise the salient traits of Hardy's determinism:—

(1) Hardy recognises the existence of a will which is creative though blind. It has no purpose beyond what human beings, by a sensible grasp of the ugly problems of life, may force upon it. But this hope is a dream, a remote futurity which in the world as it is constituted seems difficult of realisation.[2]

(2) This will or blind force, to which Hardy gives different names like " Absolute " and Unconsciousness " in his varying moods, manifests itself in two forms:—

(*a*) External nature (Will) which often looks grim and vindictive. It seems to conspire with non-moral passions and thereby subject man to the caprice of destiny. It has its horrors and its shocks but is unaffected by them.[3]

(*b*) Unconsciousness or the inner depth of man (Idea) is internally exerting to bring into action the brute longings by means of sexual attraction and repulsion.[4]

(3) Determinism arises from the helplessness to resolve the conflicts which ' Unconsciousness ' [see 2 (*b*) above] occasions by reasons

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[1] See " The Early Years of Thomas Hardy " by Emily Hardy, p. 223. " The business of the poet and novelist is to show the sorriness underlying the grandest things, and the grandeur underlying the sorriest things."

P. 265 : " It is the on-going—*i.e.*, the ' becoming '—of the world that produces its sadness. If the world stood still at a felicitous moment there would be no sadness in it."

P. 269 : Dr. Grosart enumerated some of the horrors of human and animal life, particularly parasitic, and added," The problem is how to reconcile these with the absolute goodness and non-limitation of God." Hardy replied, " Perhaps Dr. Grosart might be helped to a provisional view of the universe by the recently published life of Darwin, and the works of Herbert Spencer and other agnostics."

See also pp. 165, 215, 275, 279, 282, 285, 286, 293 and 294.

[2] *Cf.* Sophocles's " Hope " in " Antigone."

[3] *Cf.* Schopenhauer's " Will," *i.e.* " The World as Will "

Distinction between Schopenhauer and Hardy's conception of Will. See " Le Pessimisme De Thomas Hardy par Ridder " by Barzin, pp 164-65 :—

"(1) Schopenhauer, en effect, nous dit que la Volonté est située en dehors de l'espace et du tems Chez Hardy, la volonté se developpe dens l' histoire du monde.

(2) La volonté de Schepenhauer est libre et sans lois. Chez Hardy, nous avons pu identifier cette Volonté avec le systeme de-lois constituant le determinisme universel "

[4] *Cf.* Schopenhauer's " Will as Idea " and what man should do to save himself from being overwhelmed.

of clashes with the traditional beliefs in the old standard of sex morality or religion. In a better and more enlightened world Hardy, like Joad,[1] hopes that the conflict would end and human lot would improve. External nature would then not succeed in conspiring with forces within to victimise man. However, till then determinism is the law that governs human lives.

(4) A dominating factor amongst all these is "Chance" or "Coincidence," which seems to pick out its victims with the malignity of a misanthrope and takes a fiendish delight in ruining the lives of men and women it has marked out for destruction. It combines with the Blind Will and they both indulge in

> "Shaping—reshaping—
> The eternal spirit! Eternal pastime."[2]

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[1] Joad finally pictures the effects of the economic civilization, a product of the nineteenth century upon sex relations, a study of which is found scattered in Hardy's "Well-beloved":—

(1) The unmarried woman will tend increasingly to form temporary irregular unions. This result will follow—

(*a*) because her knowledge that she can earn her living in other ways will not force her to demand from the man a pledge of life-long maintenance as a price of her love;

(*b*) because knowing that she is not dependent upon a man for her livelihood, she will no longer have the incentive to pander to the man's demand for virginity in his prospective wife by remaining chaste until marriage;

(*c*) because a man's abandonment of the connection which she has formed with him, a process commonly known as desertion, will not as heretofore leave her stranded without means of support.

(*d*) because man will be less chary of forming temporary sexual relationships with women, when they know that they are not expected to keep them.

(2) The married woman will mitigate her hostility to irregular union formed by unmarried woman when she realizes—

(*a*) that her husband's mistress, not being dependent upon him for support, will constitute a less formidable threat to her livelihood;

(*b*) that the possible transference of her husband's affection and consequent withdrawal of financial support will not leave her necessarily incapable of finding other employment.

(*c*) that, as the clear-cut line of demarcation between married and unmarried unions becomes obscured by the increase in the number of the latter, it will no longer be either possible or necessary to put the unmarried mistress as completely beyond the pale of decent society as has been customary in the past.

("The Future of Morals," pp. 51-52.)

(Hardy felt this sort of adjustment was psychologically difficult to achieve and more or less an Utopian dream and hence recklessness would long continue to bring misery and shame and death.)

[2] Goethe, "Gestaltung, ungestaltung Des ew' gen Sennes ewge Unterhaltung."

What is chance or coincidence? Ridder-Barzin says: "Cest dans ces cas ou les faito exercent l'un sur l'autre une action mutuellee s as que nous penssions douner le pour quoi de cette interaction. . . . L'interfirence des deux chaines lui est restée in intelligible, et l'est la' le champ exact de la contigence."—*Le Peesimisme se Thomas Hardy* (Editions de la Revue de L'Université de Bruxelles, MCMXXXII), p. 59.

(*Concluded*)

INDIA'S DEMAND FOR A CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

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THE principle that a country has got the right to formulate and settle its own political constitution was recognised by the Indian National Congress as early as 1919. The Indian National, Congress, held at Amritsar in December, 1919, was of opinion that the Government of India Act, 1919, was "inadequate, unsatisfactory, and disappointing" and it urged the establishment of "full responsible government in India in accordance with the principle of self-determination." One can understand the reasonableness and even the necessity of this attitude when one takes into consideration the utterances of responsible British politicians regarding the political goal of India from 1909 to 1919. For a number of years the Congress had been clamouring for the gradual establishment of "a system of government similar to that enjoyed by the self-governing members of the British Empire." Article I of the Congress constitution, before its amendment by the Nagpur Congress in 1920, aimed at nothing more. But the policy of the British Government at Whitehall gradually compelled the Congress to revise its aims and methods. In ushering the Morley-Minto Reforms of 1909, Lord Morley emphatically repudiated the idea of establishing parliamentary government in India as the result of his reforms. "If it could be said," he said, "that this chapter of reforms led directly or indirectly to the establishment of a parliamentary system in India, I for one would have nothing at all to do with it." Even these grudging and half-hearted political concessions could be obtained from the British people, as Lord Morley tells us in his *Recollections*, only by satisfying the Muslims with communal electorates. "I am very sure of one thing, and this is that if we had not satisfied the Mahometans we should have had opinion here—which is now with us—dead against us." (*Recollections*, Vol. II, p. 323.) Two years after, in the Despatch of the Government of India, dated the 25th August, 1911, to the Secretary of State, the Marquess of Crewe, occurred a passage which seemed to advocate a policy of provincial decentralisation and "a larger measure of self-government, until at last India would consist of a number of administrations, autonomous in all provincial affairs, with the Government of India above them all, and possessing power to interfere in cases of misgovernment but ordinarily restricting their functions to matters of Imperial concern." This passage was quite naturally interpreted by Indian political opinion as foreshadowing self-government on Colonial lines. But the reaction of the Secretary of State for India, Lord Crewe, to this passage of the Despatch was ominous. Self-government on Colonial lines was emphatically and authoritatively disavowed in Parliament by Lord Crewe on 24th June, 1912, in the following words: "There is a certain section in India which looks forward to a measure of self-government approaching that which has been granted in the Dominions. I see no future for India on these lines. The experiment of extending a measure of self-government practically free from Parliamentary control to a race which is not our own, even though that race enjoys the services of the best men belonging to our race, is one which cannot be tried. It is my duty as Secretary of State to repudiate the idea that the despatch implies anything of the kind as the hope or goal of the policy of Government." (Lords Debates, the 24th June, 1912).

On the 29th June, 1912, the Secretary of State for India expressed his views more clearly and vigorously. He said: "There is nothing whatever in the teachings of history, so far as I know them, or in the present condition of the world which makes such a dream" (complete self-government within the British Empire) "even remotely probable. Is it conceivable that at any time an Indian Empire could exist, on the lines, say, of Australia and New Zealand, with no British officials and no tie of creed and blood which takes the place of these material bonds ? . . . . To me that is a world as imaginary as any Atlantis or any that was ever thought of by the ingenious brain of any imaginative writer."

Sir Verney Lovett, at one time a member of the Rowlatt Committee, has lamented very much in his *History of the Indian Nationalist Movement* (p. 90) that "inspite of this advice the Congress leaders preferred to adhere to their original interpretation of the meaning of the disputed passage, and continued to profess self-government on Colonial lines as their goal, striving to accelerate advance by unremitting pressure, sometimes employing analogies which are apt to deceive if applied to cases which are not really parallel." So, as recently as 1912, even after the memorable Royal visit to India and after the famous Delhi Durbar of 1911 and the Royal "message of hope," such could be the pronouncements of the responsible Secretary of State for India, Lord Crewe, whose wisdom and judgment have become almost proverbial in British politics. Sir Verney Lovett, however, we may leave alone. He has never expressed his sympathy towards Indian national aspirations although he has attempted to write a *History of the Indian Nationalist Movement*. The late E. S. Montagu, in his *Indian Diary* gave us a clue to Sir Verney Lovett's political views by saying that "Sir Verney Lovett is a wise old thing who says that communal representation must be now continued in India." (Montagu, *Indian Diary*, pp. 62-63.)

One of the results of the outbreak of the Great War in 1914 was to speed up the political development of many countries in the world, and it speeded up enormously the political consciousness of India. The Announcement of the 20th August, 1917, promising "responsible government" to India, was due as much to the political consciousness of India as to the exigencies of the War. Lord Islington, the Under-Secretary of State for India in 1917, from his seat in the House of Lords, spoke of the "gravity of the Indian political situation" and Mr. Montagu, in one passage in his *Indian Diary*, claims, among other things, that he "kept India quiet for six months at a critical period of the War" by his political tour of India with Lord Chelmsford. It will not be profitable now to speculate whether the only object of the Montagu Mission in 1917 was to keep India "quiet for six months at a critical period of the War," but there is no doubt that the announcement of the 20th August, 1917, was open to one serious objection. It held out the hope of responsible government by "successive stages" and it also made it clear that the British Government and the Government of India must be judges of the time and measure of each advance." Now, the Indian National Congress never accepted the cautious, calculating and qualifying phrases of the announcement of August, 1917. The Congress protested, and protested very strongly, against the imposition of any stages and against the suggestion that the "time and measure of each advance" should be determined by the British Government or the British Parliament. The Congress which met in Calcutta in December, 1917, only three months after the Montagu pronouncement, made it clear that the

Indian people were not prepared to accept any defined stages, and urged that the time-limit should be fixed in the Statute itself for the establishment of responsible government in India. The resolution of the Congress runs: "This Congress strongly urges the necessity for the immediate enactment of a Parliamentary Statute providing for the establishment of responsible government in India, the full measure to be attained within a time-limit to be fixed in the Statute itself at an early date." This resolution was moved in the open Congress by the late Sir Surendra Nath Banerjea and it was supported by Mr. M. A. Jinnah, who has now seen light and thinks that India is not suited for parliamentary democratic institutions, and who will also have the full satisfaction of Muslim claims before India can be declared fit for complete responsible government. Mr. Jinnah apparently in 1917 had no misgivings about Congress Swaraj.

Sir Surendranath in moving the resolution took exception to that part of the Montagu declaration which spoke of the British Government as being the judge of the time and measure of each advance in self-government. He said: "There is a rift in the lute. It is said that the measure of self-government and the time for its introduction are to be determined by the Government of India and the British democracy. We, the people who are most vitally concerned in the matter, concerned far more closely than either the British Government or the Government of India, we claim the right to have a voice in the matter. And here we take our stand on the dictum of the Prime Minister himself. He said in the course of one of his recent speeches that when, after the War, the question of re-settlement was to be considered—mark the words—the wishes of the people are to be the supreme consideration. I am grateful to him for this admission and the Congress should be grateful for it. But he also added that the formula is not to be fettered by considerations of latitude and longitude and that it is equally applicable to the tropical climates. We therefore take our stand upon this dictum and press for the recognition of this formula in the coming re-adjustment of the Government of India." This clearly shows that so far as the Indian National Congress is concerned, it has never admitted that the British Government and the Government of India were to be the judges of the time and measure of each advance. When the Congress met at Delhi in December, 1918, it adopted a resolution demanding the application of the principle of self-determination to India. The Resolution was this: "In view of the pronouncement of President Wilson, Mr. Lloyd George and other British statesmen, that to ensure the future peace of the world the principle of self-determination should be applied to all progressive Nations, be it re-stated that this Congress claims the recognition of India by the British Parliament and by the Peace Conference as one of the Progressive Nations to whom the principle of self-determination should be applied."

The Preamble of the Government of India Bill, 1919, as drafted, was based on the announcement of the 20th August, 1917, and it incorporated that part of the announcement which pointed to the progressive realization of responsible government in British India as an integral part of the Empire. It did not, however, deal with that part of the announcement which declared that the progress of this policy could only be achieved by successive stages, and that Parliament, advised by His Majesty's Government, must be the judge of the time and measure of each advance. In giving evidence before the Joint Select Committee on the Government of India Bill, 1919, the late V. J. Patel, later the first elected President of the Indian Legislative Assembly, put the Congress case before the Joint Committee clearly and emphatically and stated that the Indian National Congress did not regard the phrases which spoke of successive stages as a part of the announcement of His Majesty's Government. That was the position of the Indian National Congress before the Joint Committee in 1919, and that position was re-affirmed by Mr. Patel in his speech in the Indian Legislative Assembly on the 13th February, 1924, on the National Demand made by Pandit Motilal Nehru, the leader of the Swarajya Party. (Legislative Assembly Debates, February, 1924, p. 562.) The Joint Committee, however, took a different view of the matter and enlarged the Preamble of the Bill of 1919 so as to include all parts of the announcement of the 20th August, 1917. Their reason for doing so may be stated in their own words: " An attempt has been made to distinguish between the parts of this announcement, and to attach different value to each part according to opinion. It has been said, for instance, that whereas the first part is a binding pledge, the later part is a mere expression of opinion of no importance. But the Committee think that it is of the utmost importance, from the very inauguration of these constitutional changes, that Parliament should make it quite plain that the responsibility for the successive stages of the development of self-government in India rests on itself and on itself alone, and that it cannot share this responsibility with, much less delegate it to, the newly-elected Legislatures of India." Thus the Preamble, with increased content and meaning, and in an enlarged form, became the coping-stone of the Government of India Act, 1919. Even now this Preamble controls the political destiny of India ; for the Government of India Act, 1935, was passed in Parliament without a Preamble, and Sir Samuel Hoare, the Secretary of State for India at that time explained in the House of Commons on the 6th February, 1935, that there was no need for a Preamble to the Bill of 1935, as the Preamble to the Act of 1919 would stand unrepealed. (Commons Debates, February, 1935, pp. 1172-73.) The present writer pointed out, in an article on India's Constitutional Status published in the *Calcutta Review* in August, 1935, that the Preamble to the Act of 1919 is hopelessly out of date and no amount of interpretation put upon it can make it identical or consistent with the Constitutional Status of the Dominions. That Preamble binds India "as an integral part of the Empire," and this implies the unrestricted control of the Imperial Legislature, the Imperial Executive and the Imperial Judiciary over the affairs of India. To anybody who has sense to understand, the Preamble of 1919 which remained unrepealed in 1935 must appear as the badge of India's slavery. Successive British administrations have not deviated an inch from the position taken up in 1919. In appointing the Simon Commission Lord Birkenhead made it clear in his speech in the House of Lords on the 24th November, 1927: "But let it be plainly said—it cannot be too plainly said—that Parliament cannot, and will not, repudiate its own duties, its own responsibility, in this matter. If anybody seriously supposes, either here or in India, that we are mechanically to accept a constitution without our own primary and ultimate responsibility for judging upon it, they have no contact with the realities of the actual situation." Lord Chelmsford, the joint author of the Reforms of 1919, speaking on the same day from his place in the House of Lords, lent his support to the contention of Lord Birkenhead. (Lords Debates, November 24, 1927.) The statement of Lord Birkenhead can not be lightly treated, for only two years before, on the 7th July, 1925, Lord Birkenhead as His Majesty's responsible Secretary of State for India made the significant declaration in Parliament: "I am not able, in any foreseeable future, to discern a moment when we may safely, either to ourselves or India, abandon our trust. There is, my Lords, no 'lost Dominion,' there will be no 'lost Dominion' until that moment, if it ever comes, when the whole British Empire, with all that it means for civilization, is splintered in doom." (Lords Debates, July 7, 1925.) The speech was highly eulogised by Lord Hardinge, an ex-Viceroy of India, in a letter written on the same day to Lord Birkenhead. The letter is as follows: " My dear Birkenhead,—As an ex-ruler of India, I must send you one line to congratulate you very warmly on your speech of to-day. It is just what is wanted in India and will do an immense amount of good. It will encourage the moderates to rally to the side of Government and put heart in the Services, and pulverise false Indian ideals. It was a joy to listen to it." (*Birkenhead: The Last Phase*, p. 248.)

Now the whole conflict centres round the Preamble and the principle of the Preamble. Unthinking insistence on a preamble has very often been the characteristic of incorrigible and unrepentant imperialism. England lost the thirteen colonies of America in the 18th century for the sake of the preambles of the Stamp Act, the Declaratory Act, and the Revenue Act. " The colonists resolved to give up everything," says Lord Acton, " not to escape from actual oppression, but to honour a precept of unwritten law. If interest was on one side, there was a manifest principle on the other—a principle so sacred and so clear as imperatively to demand the sacrifice of men's lives, of their families and their fortune. That was the transatlantic discovery in the theory of political duty, the light that came over the ocean." (Acton, *Lectures on the French Revolution* , p. 24.) James Otis of Boston, in one of the memorable speeches in political history, lifted the question of the American colonists to a very high level. He argued that the Statute was wrong, that Parliament had exceeded its authority. " One single Act of Parliament," wrote Otis, " has set people a-thinking, in six months, more than they had done in their whole lives before." His pamphlet, *The Rights of the British Colonies,* presented the ' law of nature " theory—the Law above Parliament—which provided both a justification for the American Revolution and a basis for the State and the Federal constitutions. (S. E. Morison, *The American Revolution: Sources and Documents,* pp. 4-9.) In this sense, the American Revolution was a new phase of political history. " The American Revolution," says Lord Acton, " innovated upon the English Revolution, as the English Revolution innovated on the politics of Bacon or of Hobbes. . . . The case was fought out on the ground of the law of nature, more properly speaking, of Divine

Right. By the rules of right, which had been obeyed till then, England had the better cause. By the principle which was then inaugurated, England was in the wrong, and the future belonged to the Colonies." (Acton, *Lectures on Modern History*—The American Revolution, pp. 309-11). I may here add the words of Daniel Webster, the great expounder of the American constitution, to indicate the true reasons for American resistance: " It was against the recital of an Act of Parliament, rather than against any suffering under its enactment, that they took up arms. They went to war against a preamble. They fought seven years against a declaration. They saw in the claim of the British Parliament a seminal principle of mischief, the germ of unjust power." (Quoted in Lord Acton, *Lectures on the French Revolution*, p. 25.) The Indian National Congress also has been fighting for the last 21 years against the Preamble of the Act of 1919 which would not allow the Indian people to frame their own constitution without external interference.

The special session of the Indian National Congress held in Calcutta in September, 1920, on the initiative of Mahatma Gandhi adopted the programme of Non-Co-operation and the policy of triple boycott, one of which was the boycott of the new legislatures created under the Reformed Constitution of 1919. When the All-India Swarajya Party decided to revise this policy of the Congress and enter the legislatures in 1924, it did so with the distinct and avowed object of mending or ending the constitution. Pandit Motilal Nehru, the leader of the Swaraja Party in the Indian Legislative Assembly, on the 8th February, 1924, moved for taking steps to summon at an early date a representative Round Table Conference for the revision of the Government of India Act, 1919, and for the establishment of " full responsible government n India." In his speech from his place in the Assembly Pandit Motilal Nehru emphatically challenged the justice of the Preamble of the Government of India Act and maintained that from the year 1919 the demand of the Congress had been clear and consistent. It was the immediate establishment of full responsible government. He uttered in memorable sentences India's reply to the British Parliament: " Now, Sir, our answer, straight and clear, as unequivocal as the Preamble, is that the Preamble is bad, the whole law, the whole Act is as bad as could possibly have been devised to postpone, to stifle and to suppress the natural desire which I have already mentioned. That is what we say and we are perfectly entitled to say . . , we say that the Act has done a gross injustice to us in that Preamble and in the subsequent provisions of it which refuse to us the full rights of responsible Government that we demand." (Legislative Assembly Debates, February, 1924, p. 368.) The speech recalls James Otis of the American Revolution and puts courage into timid hearts. When the debate was resumed on the 13th February next, Pandit Motilal said that the Swaraj he was looking for "was the Swaraj of the poor man, the poorest man," and on this ground he maintained that the Swaraj Constitution of India could only be framed by the real representatives of the people. He went so far as to assert that the Indian Legislative Assembly itself of 1924 had no right to arrogate to itself the privilege of framing a constitution for India. That would be trespassing upon the rights and privileges of the people. Mahatma Gandhi, when he was asked by the Anglo-Indian press and other critics repeatedly to define what he meant by Swaraj, refused to do so by saying: "It is not for me, it is not for any one to say that. It is for the people to say what is the form of government they are going to have." This is the authentic note of democracy. It is refreshing to find that the Congress President, Babu Rajendra Prasad, in his very important statement on the Viceroy's recent speech at the Orient Club, Bombay, has consistently upheld the same old democratic national point of view that was so eloquently and so vigorously put forward by Pandit Motilal Nehru in the Indian Legislative Assembly as early as February, 1924. It is not for the many parties to arrive at some kind of compromise. The Congress President has rightly pointed out that the party leaders are not full representatives of their communities. Therefore, when the Viceroy appeals to the parties, he evidently ignores the inherent and fatal defect in his method. The problem of the future constitution for India is a fit and proper subject for discussion and debate by the real and accredited representatives of the Indian people and it cannot be withheld from them without committing a breach of faith and without doing a grave injury to the future democracy of India. The present party leaders of India, without a mandate from the people duly obtained, can never come to a just conclusion in a matter of such tremendous importance as the drawing up of a charter of independence for India. That would be an assumption of despotic power unheard of and equally indefensible on grounds of law, politics and morality. The Congress demand for a Constituent Assembly was made after very careful and deep consideration and the Constituent Assembly provides the only just, proper and democratic solution. It safeguards the rights of nascent democracy in India.

Sir Malcolm Hailey, the Home Member of the Government of India in February, 1924, opposed the demand of the Swaraj Party in the Assembly by taking shelter behind the Preamble of the Act of 1919 and by having recourse to a subterfuge that the Preamble of the Act of 1919 promised "responsible government" and not "Dominion Status." His argument of the Preamble was fully met by Pandit Motilal Nehru and Mr. V. J. Patel. The fine distinction drawn between "responsible government". and "Dominion Status" by the dialectical skill of the Home Member became the subject of acute controversy in Indian politics for the next five years, and it was only obliterated by Lord Irwin's formal declaration on the 31st October, 1929, which said that the natural issue of India's constitutional progress was the attainment of Dominion Status. This was, however, from the point of view of the British Government, a quite harmless declaration, and as there was no indication of time in which the promise would be fulfilled, the mere statement of ultimate goal could not satisfy Indian political aspirations. Hailey's reference to the minorities problem, in the same speech, as a stumbling block in the path of Indian self-government, led to an animated debate in the Legislative Assembly. Sir Malcolm Hailey eloquently spoke about the necessity for "the protection of minority communities" and felt rather sorry for those Indian nationalists who thought that "when the day of independence dawned, communal difficulties would disappear in the bright sunshine of the new freedom." This line of argument to expose the weakness of the Indian demand for self-rule was not anything new in 1924. Such arguments were used before, and they have been repeated up to the present moment again and again. Only very recently, Sir Maurice Gwyer, the Chief Justice of India, in his address delivered at the Convocation of the Benares Hindu University, referred to these elements of discord, and doubted the wisdom of those who hoped to frame a Constitution for India without settling these differences. These are the words of Sir Maurice Gwyer: "Let a constitution be made, it is sometimes said, and in the sunshine of our content all differences will vanish like morning mists. So too the unwilling bride may be persuaded that the affection which she does not feel will follow marriage." There is a strange likeness between Sir Maurice Gwyer's and Sir Malcolm Hailey's pity for the placid pathetic contentment of the Indian patriots. One can only ask if India's case for self-government is so pitiful and weak and ridiculous.

The fact is that Anglo-Indian administrators have always taken a peculiar delight in emphasizing the difficulties of India. Sir John Strachey, a very distinguished member of the Indian Civil Service, who officiated for some time as the Governor-General of India, in a course of lectures delivered before the University of Cambridge in 1884, repeatedly referred to the provinces of India as "the countries of India." According to him, "India is a name which we give to a great region including a multitude of different countries. There is no general Indian term that corresponds to it." (Sir John Strachey, *India : Its Administration and Progress*, p. 2.). He goes further and observes: "This is the first and most essential thing to learn about India—that there is not, and never was, an India, or even any country of India, possessing, according to European ideas, any sort of unity, physical, political, social or religious ; no Indian nation, no *People of India*, of which we hear so much." (*Ibid.*, p. 5.) And finally Sir John Strachey comes to the conclusion that the growth of a single Indian nationality is impossible at any time. According to him, "It must not be supposed that such bonds of union (meaning the unifying agencies of the Government of India) can in any way lead towards the growth of a single Indian nationality. However long may be the duration of our dominion, however powerful may be the centralizing attraction of our Government, or the influence of the common interests which grow up, no such issue can follow. It is conceivable that national sympathies may arise in particular Indian countries ; but that they should ever extend to India generally, that men of Bombay, the Punjab, Bengal and Madras should ever feel that they belong to the great Indian nation, is impossible." This statement is even repeated in the third edition of the book which was revised by Sir John Strachey himself in April, 1903. (*Ibid.*, pp. 7-8.)

It thus appears that it is almost impossible for Anglo-Indian administrators to change their attitude towards India. When Lord Minto gave the assurance of separate Muslim electorates to the Muslim deputation led by the Aga Khan on the 1st October, 1906, an official wrote to Lady Minto as follows: "I must send Your Excellency a line to say that a very very big thing has happened to-day. A work of statesmanship that will affect India and Indian history for many a long year.

It is nothing less than the pulling back of sixty-two millions of people from joining the ranks of the seditious opposition." (Lady Minto, *Diary*, pp. 47-48.) The present writer has shown, in an article on the Minto-Morley Reforms (published in the *Calcutta Review*, December, 1939), that the object of Lord Minto in inaugurating the reforms of 1909 was to find "a possible counterpoise to Congress aims, and to rally the moderates." Furtherance of any idea or scheme for *the unity of India* was farthest from the mind of Lord Minto.

Soon after Hailey's famous speech in the Legislative Assembly emphasizing communal difficulties, Lord Birkenhead, as Secretary of State for India, wrote to Lord Reading, the Viceroy, as follows: "To me it is frankly inconceivable that India will ever be fit for Dominion self-government." (*Birkenhead*: *The Last Phase*, p. 245.) In another letter to Reading written in January, 1925, he made much of communal "antagonisms" in India and expressed his conviction that the British Government alone could "play the part of composers." He wrote: "The more it is made obvious that these antagonisms are profound, and affect immense and irreconcilable sections of the population, the more conspicuously is the fact illustrated that we, and we alone, can play the part of composers." (*Ibid.*, pp. 245-46.) One may be permitted to ask if this epistle was the result of wishful thinking. On the 7th July, 1925, Lord Birkenhead, in a very important statement made from his place in the House of Lords, expressed himself in the following terms: "To talk of India as an entity is as absurd as to talk of Europe as an entity. Yet the very nationalist spirit which has created most of our difficulties in the last few years is based upon the aspirations and claims of a nationalist India. There never has been such a nation. Whether there ever will be such a nation the future alone can show." To Lord Birkenhead apparently the development of an Indian nationality was disconcerting. When the Simon Commission was successfully boycotted by nationalist India, Birkenhead tried to thwart the opposition by taking advantage of communal and political differences among the Indians. In a private letter of the 19th January, 1928, to the Viceroy, Lord Irwin, he wrote: "We have always relied on the non-boycotting Moslems, on the depressed community, on the business interests, and on many others, to break down the attitude of boycott. You and Simon must be the judges whether or not it is expedient in these directions to try to make a breach in the wall of antagonism, even in the course of the present visit." (*Birkenhead*: *The*

Last Phase, p. 254). It is significant that the communities and interests mentioned in this letter of January, 1928, subsequently found adequate recognition and special protection in the Communal Award of 1932. Finding the boycott of the Simon Commission rather successful, Birkenhead wrote to the Viceroy in February next, in terms of high indignation: "I should advise Simon to see at all stages important people who are *not* boycotting the Commission, particularly Moslems and the depressed classes. I should widely advertise all his interviews with representative Moslems. The whole policy now is obvious, It is to terrify the immense Hindu population by the apprehension that the Commission is being got hold of by the Moslems and may present a report altogether destructive of the Hindu position, thereby securing a solid Moslem support, and leaving Jinnah high and dry." (*Birkenhead: The Last Phase*, p. 255). We may ask if this policy of Lord Birkenhead was conceived in the best interests of India and was intended to promote communal harmony and the unity of India.

Mahatma Gandhi, in a leading article in the *Harijan* of the 20th January, 1940, said several good things about the recent pronouncement of Lord Linlithgow, namely, the Viceroy's speech at the Orient Club, Bombay. Mahatmaji has found in the speech evidence of "sincerity." But what has been the reaction of the powerful *The Times* to the same speech ? In a leading article of the same date, January 20, referring to the Viceroy's speech, the paper speaks how differently and in what different strain: "But the British Government cannot be expected to accede to the Congress view that they should have no hand whatever in framing the final constitution of India, but that this should be left wholly to an Indian constituent assembly. That notion certainly has been prevalent in Congress circles and may still be widely held, but it is open to obvious criticism even from a practical viewpoint. Sir Maurice Gwyer pointed out in his address that the history of constituent assemblies in Europe did not encourage the opinion that a parliament or any assembly of the kind was fitted to frame the constitution, nor can the British Government honourably dissociate themselves from representation in any body designed to frame the constitution for the dominion of India. They cannot, for example, divest themselves forthwith of all responsibility in Indian defence and foreign relations, nor can they take no further thought for the minorities, the Princes, the Moslems, and the Depressed classes whose interests they have undertaken to defend. Even if the Moslem

League were to come to terms with the Congress Party to-morrow, there would still be Indian problems, in a fair solution of which this country would be vitally concerned. The demands of sections of the Congress Party that the British Government should stand aside and allow them the sole voice in framing the destinies of India is altogether inadmissible."

If the essence of Dominion Status is not practically complete independence of the British Parliament, then we do not know what it is. We hear an echo of the words of the Preamble of 1919 in this article of *The Times*. If the contention of *The Times* is true, then it appears that India has made no progress in the march of self-government during the last twenty-one years. The article also recalls the tone and words of Lord Birkenhead uttered in the House of Lords on the 7th July, 1925. In dealing with Indian constitutional experiment, the predominant consideration of Lord Birkenhead was the future of the British Empire. In his speech of the 7th July, 1925, he expressed his apprehension about the future of the Empire as follows: "Of the 440 millions of British citizens who constitute the British Empire, 320 millions are Indians. The loss of India would mean a shrinkage in the Empire from 13,250,000 to less than 11,500,000 square miles. Our problem is, in fact, and always has been, one of prodigious difficulty." "The whole message," said Birkenhead, "as we understand it, of our situation in India, with all that it involves in the storied past, in the critical present, and in the incalculable future, is to be read in that Preamble. We shall not be diverted from its high obligations by the tactics of restless impatience. The door of acceleration is not open to menace; still less will it be stormed by violence." His advice, pontifically delivered to the Congress in 1925, was to cultivate the quality of patience. "What is ten years," he said, "in the age-long history of the immemorial East ?" Evidently, in the opinion of Lord Birkenhead, Indians should have waited patiently for their political salvation till the end of this cycle of human existence, without despairing of British Imperial destiny.

If the opinion of *The Times* is any index to the British public opinion, we fail to understand in what respects the chances of Indian self-government are any the better than what they were during the administration of Lord Birkenhead. If the Viceroy's assurance of "Dominion Status of the Statute of Westminster variety" can be commented upon by *The Times* to mean that India should not be allowed to settle her own constitution without external interference, or that the British Government cannot divest themselves forthwith of all responsibility for Indian defence, foreign relations, minorities, the Princes, the Moslems and the Depressed classes, then we wonder what exactly the implications of Dominion Status are at the present moment. Dominion Status for India undoubtedly connotes the right of the Indian people to settle their future political destiny for themselves. The practical necessity of such a Status in action in India was urged, on the 18th January last, by Mr. Wedgwood Benn in the House of Commons. while speaking on the Government of India and Burma Miscellaneous Amendments Bill. Declaring that only a few members could claim to decide in detail on the merits of the Bill, Mr. Benn said: " It clearly shows the extremely weak position in which we stand here, attempting to govern India without a proper and responsible Assembly in India to do the work themselves. The Bill should act as a reminder that the Government should do everything in their power to hasten the day when matters of this kind can be dealt with by the Indian people themselves." (Speech reported in *The Statesman* on January 20, 1940.) But the voice of Mr. Benn is more or less a solitary voice. The Viceroy's speech at the Orient Club, Bombay, raises undoubtedly certain expectations, but we do not know whether those expectations will not be repudiated, like the hopes arising out of the Delhi Despatch of the 25th August, 1911, in Parliament, by a responsible Minister of His Majesty's Government. Already Lord Meston's recent speech at Manchester on the Viceroy's pronouncement brings to our ears the rumblings of the storm.

The problem of minorities raised by Sir Malcolm Hailey in his speech of the 8th February, 1934, and the plea of *The Times* that " the British Government cannot divest themselves of responsibility for the minorities, the Princes, the Moslems and the Depressed classes," remind us of certain similar problems in other parts of the British Empire. The South African Constitution of 1909 was formed in South Africa by the South African National Convention. Undoubtedly the most difficult question which gave the Convention a great deal of trouble was the problem of the native franchise. This difficulty persisted right through until the South African Union Act was finally passed at Westminster. The Convention came to the conclusion that in South Africa those who should sit as members in either House of Parliament must be persons of European descent. This meant that the natives is

South Africa were excluded from sitting in the South African Parliament. There were among the natives, as Lord Crewe, the Colonial Secretary, himself admitted in Parliament, "men who were of high standing, of high character, and of high ability." They regarded this exclusion as a slight and they "pressed with deep feeling and much eloquence" their case before the British Government at Westminster. But the British Government felt powerless to interfere with the decision of the South African National Convention. Lord Crewe, the Colonial Secretary, from his place in the House of Lords, on the 27th July, 1909, defended the action of the Convention in the following terms: "The fact which has decided us in not attempting to press this matter against the wishes of the South African delegates has been that this is undoubtedly one of those matters which represent a delicately balanced compromise between themselves. As a Government we cannot take—and personally I am not prepared to take—the responsibility for the possible wrecking of this Union measure altogether by a provision of this kind; I am assured that such would be the result of any attempt to insert such a provision in the Bill. The cause of those who desire this change to be made, has been pressed with deep feeling and much eloquence by some of the natives themselves, and by those who specially represent their cause. But I do feel that if this change is to be made, it must be made in South Africa by South Africans themselves, and that it is not possible for us, whatever we may consider to be the special merits of the case, to attempt to force it upon the great representative body which with absolute unanimity demands that it should not appear." So the great representative South African National Convention, which as a constituent assembly drafted the South African Constitution of 1909, had its way, and it can with truth be said that the completed Act which the South African delegates brought back with them from England was identical with the draft Bill which they had taken with them to England.

Let us then take the case of Canada in 1838 when Lord Durham was sent out as High Commissioner from England to put down the rebellion in Canada and suggest remedies. The finding of Lord Durham's Report on the Canadian situation in 1838 was that the policy of the British Government was responsible for the racial antagonisms and religious conflicts in Canada. Lord Durham writes: "I expected to find a conflict between a government and a people, but I found two nations warring in the bosom of a single state: I found a struggle not of principles, but of races." And who was responsible for this struggle? Durham gives the answer: "Unhappily, however, the system of government pursued in Lower Canada has been based on the policy of perpetuating that very separation of the races, and encouraging these very notions of conflicting nationalities which it ought to have been the first and chief care of Government to check and extinguish. From the period of the conquest to the present time, the conduct of the Government has aggravated the evil, and the origin of the present extreme disorder may be found in the institutions by which the character of the Colony was determined. . . . The Imperial Government . . . has shaped its policy so as to aggravate the disorder. In some instances it has actually conceded the mischievous pretensions of nationality in order to evade popular claim. . . . The alternate concessions to the contending races have only irritated both, and impaired the authority of Government." And yet the situation was not, perhaps, past redress, if it had been fully understood only a few years before. The Lower Canada Assembly, in January, 1833, put forward the suggestion of a "Convention" for the redress of their grievances. In the petition which was sent by the Assembly to the King very soon afterwards, this request was made again. The request was that "delegates freely and indiscriminately chosen by all classes and out of all classes of the community so as to be in harmony with the interests of the province" should "recommend the proper modifications" in government. "A general assemby of this kind," it was said, "would prove to be a faithful interpreter of all the interests of the Colony taken collectively." (Kennedy, *Statutes, Treaties and Documents of the Canadian Constitution*, 2nd Edition, p. 264). But even this modest demand of the Assembly was totally refused. The reply of the Secretary of State for the Colonial department in answer to the petition of the Assembly fully reflected the attitude of the Imperial Government towards Canadian political aspirations. It was as follows: "The object of the address is to pray His Majesty to sanction a National Convention of the people of Canada, for the purpose of superseding the legislative authorities. . . . His Majesty can never be advised to assent, as deeming it inconsistent with the very existence of monarchical institutions. (*Ibid*, p. 269.) Canadian insistence on "Conventions of the people" in the Ninety-two Resolutions of 1834 did not also gain much support with the British Cabinet, and when nothing else could attain its end, the Assembly had recourse to the threat of revolution which, in the last résort, is the sanction of all constitutional principles.

For this state of things Durham had his remedies to propose. His healing measures were contained in his recommendations for the immediate establishment of institutions of responsible government in Canada. Let us see what Durham suggests as a cure for racial hatred, religious troubles and administrative disorders. He writes: "When I look on the various and deep-rooted causes of mischief which the past enquiry has pointed out as existing in every institution, in the constitutions, and in the very composition of society throughout a great part of these Provinces, I almost shrink from the apparent presumption of grappling with these gigantic difficulties. Nor shall I attempt to do so in detail. *I rely on the efficacy of reform in the constitutional system by which these Colonies are governed for the removal of every abuse in their administration which defective institutions have engendered.** If a system can be devised which shall lay in these countries the foundation of an efficient and popular government, ensure harmony in place of collision between the various powers of the state, bring the influence of a vigorous public opinion to bear on every detail of public affairs, we may rely on sufficient remedies being found for the present vices of the administrative system." And what has been the verdict of History on the remedies proposed by Lord Durham for Canada's evils? It must be admitted that History has completely vindicated Durham. His advocacy of responsible government as a cure for all evils has left his Report enshrined with the great political literature of the English language. At Durham's untimely death, Sir John Cam Hobhouse, afterwards Lord Broughton, probably his closest friend, wrote a true word about him in his *Diary*: "He had an abundance of political courage." Race, self-government, federation, nationhood, these had been some of the greatest problems in Canadian history, and Durham tried to solve them all in six months. Some of his criticisms and recommendations might be unhistorical, but in the life of nations a great tradition may be a fact even if it is not founded upon fact. The tradition of *Magna Carta* throughout the thirteenth century in England, again and again, was of inestimable service to English constitutional liberties. The cry of "confirmation of the Charter" gained many battles in the history of English freedom. Durham, the loyal and devoted son-in-law of Earl Grey of the Reform Bill, and the father-in-law of Earl Elgin, perhaps the greatest Colonial Viceroy of the 19th century, by his vision and faith, gave us a Report which remains the epitome of responsible government. Durham could forecast the scope of responsible government or its sovereign function in the integration of Canadian nationality. "Self-government plus union," says Professor Chester Martin of the University of Toronto, in the June issue of the *Canadian Historical Review*, 1939 (Issue to Celebrate the Centenary of the Publication of Lord Durham's Report), "equals nationhood and Durham's glimpse of something like a national existence—'some nationality of his own' for the North American colonist—is one of the most discerning prophecies of the Report. . . . The therapeutic function of freedom to engender good-will and co-operation in this wicked world is an incandescent faith in the philosophy of Burke and Howe and Buller and Elgin." Durham knew this well.

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* Italics are mine.

What a different note is struck by Mr. Jinnah's reply to the letter of Mahatma Gandhi, dated the 16th January, 1940 ! In that reply Mr. Jinnah takes occasion to assert that "India is not a nation, nor a country. It is a sub-continent composed of nationalities, Hindus and Moslems being the two major nations." We hear in this an echo of the lecture of Sir John Strachey before his Cambridge audience in 1884. The reply of Mr. Jinnah is indeed a very sad and depressing commentary on the history of Indian nationalism during the last fifty-five years. We wonder if the latest pronouncements of Mr. Jinnah emanate from the same Mr. Jinnah who appeared on the Congress platform in Calcutta, in 1917, and supported the resolution moved by the late Sir Surendranath Banerjea for the immediate establishment of national self-government in India. We find that Mr. Jinnah now suspects that the Congress High Command are out for an "alliance with the British Government, in order that Moslems and minorities and other interests may be placed at their mercy, once more for them to begin their process of crushing them downright." He then strikes a note of caution or warning and says that if the guarantees already given to the minorities ~~are not~~ implemented or are not honoured in practice, then it will "create the gravest crisis in India ; and Moslem India will resist it by all the means in their power and will not shrink from making any sacrifice, and the British Government will be wholly responsible for the consequences if they yield or are stampeded by threats and coercion by one party."[1]

This is not the note of protection of minorities, but rather the note of dictation by minorities. This vigorous assertion of so-called minority rights is unprecedented and unheard of in the history of constitutional government. The chances of self-government for India would be utterly annihilated if this note of arrogant dictation is allowed to pass unchallenged. So far as we know, the Indian National Congress has not as yet said that the minorities in India, like the United Empire Loyalists in the American Revolution, might leave the country and shift for themselves. On the other hand, the Congress has given repeated assurances that the rights and privileges of minorities shall be settled in a self-governing India according to the satisfaction of the minorities concerned.

"Nothing is more fatal," said Lord Morley, "than turning history into idolatry." If Mr. Jinnah's reading of Indian history and his reflection on Indian politics have taught him that "India is not a nation, nor a country," then it is time that he should read Indian history in a new light and approach the study of Indian politics from a new angle of vision. The Indian National Congress, as we understand it, is not content to contemplate the past. It has fixed its hope and endeavour on the future and it believes that "upward growth and progress is the law of human life, and that flame brightens as it moves from hand to hand." It seems that the mind of Mr. Jinnah moves entirely within the conditions of society familiar to him, and he does not heed the coming democracy—the uplifted, the enlightened masses of all denominations and of all communities. But the Congress, most probably, believes like the great French philosopher-statesman Turgot, that the future would be unlike the past, that it would be better, and it further thinks that the experience of ages may instruct and warn, but cannot guide or control. "By the hypothesis of progress," says Lord Acton, "the new is always gaining on the old; history is the embodiment of imperfection, and escape from history became the watchword of the coming day. Condorcet, Turgot's pupil, thought that the world might be emancipated by burning its records." Mr. Jinnah would deserve well of his country and countrymen if he could only nerve himself once more to the steadfast work of national regeneration. It is not unreasonable to hope, on the basis of his past services to the country, that his life may still be stimulated by a noble and resolute purpose of furthering India's national freedom.

We must now go back to the debate of the Indian Legislative Assembly in February, 1924, on Pandit Motilal Nehru's amendment for the summoning of a representative Round Table Conference. This amendment was accepted by a very large majority in the Assembly—76 members voting for and 43 against. Mr. Jinnah was amongst those who supported and voted for the amendment. During the debate Sir Malcolm Hailey announced that the Government of India was prepared to hold an enquiry into the working of the Act of 1919 up to that time, and was also ready to consider the feasibility and the possibility of any advance within the framework of the Act; but he made it clear that no amendment of the Act or radical changes could be contemplated. As a result of this debate, the Reforms Enquiry Committee of 1924, presided over by Sir Alexander Muddiman, was set up to see what could be done to improve the working of the existing constitutional machinery. The majority of the Committee suggested slight changes here and there within the four corners of the Statute, but the minority pointed out boldly the "inherent constitutional defects" of the prevailing system, and "the practical difficulties experienced in its working," and came to the conclusion that the constitution required to be overhauled. The Report of the Committee was published in March, 1925, and on the 7th September, 1925, Sir Alexander Muddiman, the then Home Member of the Government of India, moved a resolution in the Assembly recommending the acceptance of the principle underlying the Majority Report. A long amendment, which is now known as the National Demand of 1925, was moved to this resolution by Pandit Motilal Nehru, the leader of the Swaraj Party. This amendment confirmed and reiterated the demand contained in the resolution of the Assembly passed by it in February, 1924, and asked the Governor-General in Council to take immediate steps to move His Majesty's Government to make a declaration in Parliament embodying certain fundamental changes in the constitutional machinery and administration of India which would make the Government fully responsible. The amendment further recommended the holding of a representative Convention or Round Table Conference, to frame, with due regard to the interests of minorities, a detailed scheme of government, and to place the said Scheme for approval before the Legislative Assembly, after which it would be submitted to the British Parliament to be embodied in a Statute. The amendment was carried against the Government by 72 votes to 45.

It is thus clear that from 1919, or even from 1917, the Congress was claiming to exercise the right of self-determination. It consistently and repeatedly made various efforts to come to an honourable understanding with England in the matter of framing the future constitution of India. But it never deviated from the position that the constitution of the country could be shaped only by the accredited representatives of the people themselves. The National Demand of 1925 was in substance a demand for a constituent assembly. "The struggle for reform," said Pandit Motilal Nehru in prophetic words in the Assembly, "once begun must sooner or later have its appointed end, which is no other than the achievement of the fullest freedom. It remains to be seen whether England will share the credit of the achievement by willingly giving a helping hand, or suffer that the achievement be wrested from her unwilling hands. . . . It is for England to choose." Herein was really struck the keynote of the present Congress demand for a constituent assembly. If it is still possible for India to frame her own constitution through a national convention or a constituent assembly elected on adult suffrage, with the good-will and co-operation of England, then certainly the Indian National Congress will welcome this attitude of England. If, however, England, instead of helping, stands in the way of national freedom, then the Congress will do all that is possible for it to do, consistently with its creed and constitution, "to wrest," as Pandit Motilal said, "freedom from her unwilling hands." The present Congress demand for a constituent assembly is quite logical and consistent. Those of our countrymen who think that a constituent assembly can only come into existence after the achievement of sovereign power by the country, are unfortunately confusing an historical accident with an essential factor in human history. The resources or devices of human civilization are not at an end, and human beings may still discover new methods of overcoming human difficulties. "Nothing is more fatal than turning history into idolatry," and while history may instruct and warn, it cannot, it should not, guide or control. If constituent assemblies in the history of certain nations were only established after a good deal of fight and bloodshed, it does not necessarily follow that India should have to pass through the same stage or the same experience. It may yet be hoped that it will be possible in India to bring into existence a constituent assembly with the assent and co-operation of Great Britain. The Congress under the wise and distinguished guidance of Mahatma Gandhi is unquestionably striving for such a result.

Then again, the Congress demand for a constituent assembly constitutes at once a defence and a programme. It is a defence of the position taken up by the Indian National Congress ever since the year 1919, and it is a programme of action for the country to adopt wholeheartedly. It has given the entire country an opportunity of focussing its political views on a definite and particular issue. This issue at the present moment is the supreme issue before the nation, in comparison with which all other issues or questions pale into insignificance. Let India make her choice.

(To be continued.)

News and Views

[A monthly record of News and Views relating to Cultural and Academic Institutions, Events and Movements in India and Abroad.]

Mining Education in India

Greater interest in mining education is being shown in India than before, as the increase in the number of scholars attending the Indian School of Mines at Dhanbad, and the Department of Mining and Metallurgy at the Benares Hindu University indicates.

At the Indian School of Mines, the number of students at the beginning of the 1938 session was 76 as compared with 68 at the beginning of the previous session. The number further increased to 87 in November, 1938. At Benares the number at the beginning of the session was 116, as compared with 95 in the previous session.

Advance classes were held under the auspices of the Government of Bihar at Sijua in the Jharia coalfield. The number of students attending at these two centres was 105, as against 79 in the previous year.

Courses of lectures were arranged for colliery 'Sirdars' in Bengali in the Raniganj coalfield, and in Hindi in the Jharia coalfield. There were eight centres in the Raniganj coalfield and 200 enrolled for this course. In the Jharia coalfield there were six centres with a total enrolment of 436. Classes in gas testing were also held in the Raniganj coalfield, and at Jharia in the Jharia coalfield for the training of colliery 'Sirdars' and shot-firers in gas-testing. Nearly 100 received training at these centres.

Indian Literary Enterprise

The Secretary of the 'Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute,' Poona, has issued the following to the Press: —

'Probably for the first time in the history of the Indo-British relations, the British Academy has shown its appreciation of a literary undertaking sponsored and carried out by Indian scholars. This Academy has just announced a grant of a sum towards the expenses of the critical edition of the *Mahabharata* inaugurated in 1919, by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, of late Sir Ramakrishna Gopal Bhandarkar.

The Institute has been carrying on this work for the last twenty years with zeal and perseverance in spite of adverse conditions under the guidance of Dr. V. S. Sukthankar, M.A., Ph.D., the General Editor of the project, assisted by a band of enthusiastic coadjutors.

The work on this project is handicapped for want of adequate funds, but in view of its international interest and importance, as evinced by the award of the grant by the British Academy, it is to be hoped that the Universities and learned societies in India will wake up to the importance of the project, which aims for the first time at putting the great national epic of India in a shape acceptable to all serious students of Indian literature.

Education in India (1937-38)

Bombay among the provinces had the largest number of boys and girls at school in 1937-38. Her percentage of scholars in recognised educational institutions to the total population in that year stood at 7·83. Next came Madras with 7·3 per cent. Central Provinces and Berar had the lowest percentage, namely 3·31.

Bengal led with the largest number of girls at school, her percentage being 6·61 and 9·91 per cent. of the male population; while Bombay gave education to the largest number of boys, whose percentage was 11 06 but to only 3·92 per cent. of the female population. Madras had 10·2 per cent. boys and 1·2 per cent. girls receiving education. Central Provinces and Berar came last with 5·21 per cent. boy scholars and 1·12 per cent. girl scholars.

Madras spent most on education—over Rs. 5½ crores; Bengal coming next with about Rs. 5 crores. N. W. F. P. spent least, namely, Rs. 31 lakhs.

Taking the whole of British India, 5·38 of the total population were in schools and colleges, the boys representing 7·87 per cent. and the girls 2·31 per cent. of the male and female populations respectively.

British India spent about Rs. 27 crores in 1937-38 compared to Rs. 28 crores in the previous year; but in comparing the figures, allowance must be made for the separation of Burma in 1937. The number of arts colleges in British India rose from 241 in 1936-37 to 246 in 1937-38 in spite of the difference made by the separation of Burma. Primary schools fell from 164,894 to 158,602.

Sir Atul Chatterjee

The Council of the Royal Society of Arts has elected Sir Atul Chatterjee Chairman in the place of Sir Reginald Glancy. Sir Atul Chatterjee is the first Indian to hold the office.

Calcutta Blind School

His Excellency the Governor of Bengal and The Lady Mary Herbert have become Patrons of the Calcutta Blind School. The Government of Bengal have sanctioned a capital grant of Rs. 20,000 for further building projects for the school.

A. I. Women Students' Conference

A strong plea for co-education in all stages, for provision of facilities for engineering and agricultural courses for women students, for removal of disabilities of women and freedom to choose their partners in life was made by the All-India Women Students' Conference, which held its open session recently under the presidency of Miss Renu Roy at the Kaiserbagh Baraderi Lucknow. Delegates from all parts of the country participated.

The Conference adopted a number of important resolutions dealing with the disabilities of women particularly women students.

In view of the extreme proverty of the country's population the Conference urged that more liberal and cheap education should be provided for women.

It protested against the practice of establishing separate educational institutions for Muslim and Hindu girls and urged the organisation of educational institutions for girls on a non-communal basis. Co-education, they felt, would minimise expense and facilitate the advance of education among women of India. Engineering and agriculture courses, it emphasised, should be thrown open to women.

Free and compulsory primary education for girls and introduction of a course of domestic science in the university curriculum were also urged.

The Conference opined that vernacular should be made the medium of instruction and demanded the recognition of Hindustani as the *lingua indica*. It urged that free and compulsory physical training should be provided for girls in schools and colleges.

Finally, the Conference welcomed the resolution on the women students' movement passed at the All-India Students' Convention held at Delhi on 1st and 2nd January, 1940, and accepted the outline of work suggested therein. It laid down the manner in which this programme should be implemented.

Miscellany

RACE-MIXTURES IN EUROPE

"Race" is a purely biological term and connotes the presence of a number of heritable physical and psychological features common to all its members. The term "nation," on the other hand, has a social and historical content and implies that its members are connected by a common language and civilisation, and by the possession of common historical traditions and ethical standards. There are instances in which both terms are identical, but they are of rare occurrence (*e.g.*, Eskimos and the extinct aboriginals of Tasmania). Linguistic frontiers are never racial frontiers, and it is always misleading when people speak or write about the Italian, Greek, Anglo-Saxon, Teutonic, Slavonic and similar "races". The confusion of the two terms, however, is not restricted to laymen, but extends to experts on the subject as well. Most of the ethnological maps are liable to the same mistake inasmuch as the distinction they make between the different races is based on language characteristics. According to them, the greater part of the population of Europe belongs to three "races"—Slavonic, Romanic, and Teutonic. It is easy to see that these groups are by no means "racial" entities. Among the inhabitants of Normandy, for instance (who, being Frenchmen, ought to belong to the Romanic "race"), numerous individuals are found who are tall, blond, and blue-eyed, so that—according to these biological traits—they ought to be classified among the Teutonic "race". Similar types are met with among the Slavonic Russians and the Mongolian Finns, and in many parts of Germany (not only in the Eastern provinces, but everywhere else also) there are numerous typical representatives of the Slavonic "race".

According to Guenther all the European nations are composed of practically the same racial elements, but the proportions in which these latter occur are different in each case. Individuals of pure racial stock are rare. The mixture of the racial elements can never lead to the development of a uniform race of mixed characteristics, as that would conflict with the laws of the science of heredity. These laws are none others than those discovered by Mendel. It is true that, by cross-fertilising red and white flowers, pink flowers will be obtained in the first generation, but the second generation will contain only 50% of these, the remaining 50% being equally divided between pure white and pure red flowers. Other experiments have shown that, in cross-breeding two types differing in more than one racial feature (*e.g.*, rough-haired dark animals and smooth-haired light-coloured animals) the various features are transmitted independently of one another. Thus, the result of such breeding can never be a new racial type, but only a mixture of the original racial features, and the concept of definite "national races" is scientifically untenable.

By making racial distinctions on the basis of complexion (as people do when they speak of white, yellow, or black races) undue prominence is given to a feature which alone is insufficient as a characteristic of race. There is, for instance, no such thing as a uniform white or European race. The nations of Europe can be divided into four different races, each of which has its own distinctive features. These are: the Nordic race, the

Westic race, the Eastic race, and the Dinaric race. The main difference between them is connected with the shape of their skull, according to which the first two are described as dolichocephalic or long-headed and the other two as brachycephalic or short-headed. The members of the Nordic and Dinaric races are distinguished from those of the Westic and Eastic races by their tall stature, but there are a great many other details in which the four races differ from one another. By drawing up classified lists containing the racial features as ascertained by empiric means, such as the shape of the skull, size of the body, complexion, colour of the eyes, etc., and then entering the regional distribution of these features on a map showing where each of them predominates, it is possible to arrive at certain general conclusions. Such a map shows, for example, that in England at least the areas where tall persons predominate coincides with those inhabited by long-headed people of very fair complexion. If a map of France is drawn on similar lines, one finds that a fair-complexioned, tall and long-headed race in the North must be distinguished from a dark, short and likewise long-headed race in the South, and that dark and short-headed persons form a third race in addition to those two. Thus the Northern French and the Southern French exhibit characteristics always considered typical of the Teutonic "races," although both groups belong to the Romanic "race." For centuries past, however, Europe has been penetrated by a new element—the Jews—who are themselves a mixture of Semites and Caucasians.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

OSTIA-ON-THE-TIBER *vs* POMPEI

A vast new enterprise is about to bring to light the ruins of the Imperial Roman city of Ostia, says Dr. Guido Calza, Director of the Excavations of Ancient Ostia.

Ostia was a Mediterranean city with unmistakably Italian and Roman characteristics. Here there is not the Hellenic or rather Hellenistic influence which is to be found at Pompei ; there is here no contact with the Orient, as was the case with Roman towns on Asian or African soil. For this reason Ostia, more than any other ancient town, offers a faithful picture of Rome and precisely in those characteristics which are no longer to be found to-day, even in Rome itself: the urban aspects, dwellings, squares, shops and stores.

The Roman life of Ostia lasted through seven centuries: three under the sway of the Republic and four under the Empire. If one could believe the legend which attributes its foundation to Anco Marzio, the fourth King of Rome, its history would date much further back. Anyhow this legend stands to prove the significance which the Roman historian attached to the foundation of the city, which in reality rose to the importance of a military *castrum* or fortress, only about the year 330 B.C. and was considered as an advance guard of Rome on the bank of the Tiber and by the sea, a testimony of the early expansion of Rome in the Mediterranean, as Dr. Guido discovered sometime ago. With Ostia, Rome gained complete dominion over Latium and opened the way to her conquest of the world.

Ostia, a small military and seafaring colony, grew with the increase of the power of Rome. At the time of Augustus it was already a city of considerable size and of even greater importance, as it attracted people from all parts of the world, who were considered as Roman citizens, as they represented the aristocracy of commerce and of labour. Ostia was the emporium of trade, the port of landing of all merchandise, produce and tribute from the provinces. It soon became an Empire port and everything which was needed for the life of the capital and for the pomp of the patriciate and for the court, was stored in the warehouses of Ostia.

Wealth made the citizens of Ostia generous in donations in favour of their own city. Providential patrons were the Emperors who, by enlarging and decorating Ostia with sumptuous monuments, rendered it worthy of Rome and of extending the City's first greeting to those arriving by sea. Constantine, who transferred the capital from West to East, took no further interest in Ostia, it being enough for him to continue the life of the Torajano Docks, in which some commercial and seafaring activity still remained. From the sea, which had made the fortune of Ostia for so many centuries, came the menace of barbarity, and destruction and death to the city. The ruins of Ostia seems to have been watched over by Time itself. The city collapsed when the general exodus of the inhabitants deprived the temples, monuments, dwellings and streets of the necessary upkeep ; the natural elements, not floods and earthquakes of which there are no traces to be found, were responsible for the ruin of a city which Rome, herself impoverished, had no longer the strength to sustain or to defend.

Although the sea, from which the ship of Aeneas was destined to come and over which hung the threat of Carthage, has retreated from Ostia, the landmarks which have never disappeared throughout the history of Rome, like the Tiber, the Albany Hills, Lavinium, the majestic pine-woods ("*selvedene,*" or the woods of Aeneas, according to the writer of the Middle Ages) and the shores of Etruria and Latium, remain unchanged and untouched, framing what Minucio Felice called the "*amoenissima*" (most pleasant) city of Ostia.

The expectations of the archaeologist are recorded as follows by Dr. Guido:

"One might ask what it is that I hope to find in this Ostia territory which I have been questioning and investigating for twenty-five years. I should immediately reply that our work will not yield a useless repetition of what Pompei has to offer. The conditions of life and of death in the two cities were, as everyone knows, entirely different. Although the profession of soothsayer is not an easy one even for an archaeologist, I will add that we derive our hope and encouragement from our study of the excavation grounds. Humps, hillocks, raised grounds and walls emerging from the level of countryside indicate the presence of high, imposing ruins, which have undoubtedly been searched in times gone by for their marblework, or by some hustling excavator. I have always furthered my researches successfully, retrieving marbles, mosaics, paintings, inscriptions and compiling the complete plan of reconstruction of the buildings and monuments. Considering that about four hundred pieces of sculptures, scattered among the museums of Rome, and of Europe, including statues and busts of great value, are the result of rapacious diggings of past countries, the works of art recuperated during the last few years and now collected at the Ostia Museum serve to show what great quantities still remain to be unearthed."

Benoy Kumar Sarkar

LIBRARIES FOR THE BLIND

Much has been done in the course of the last century to make the life of the blind happier, and to enable them to have a degree of independence. The greatest benefit they enjoy was the invention of the French expert *Louis Braille*, consisting of letters which can be read by feeling them with the finger tips. This form of writing bears the inventor's name.

Books play a greater part in the life of the blind than in that of other citizens, for they convey to the sightless the impressions of the outer world which cannot be obtained directly. When reading in a book, the blind person is freed from continual dependence on others, requiring no assistance.

But it is hardly possible for the blind to go to the book-shop and purchase the volumes he selects. Firstly, not all have money enough, and secondly, they have no room for the bulky volumes, for books in Braille take up much space, the letters being large, and the binding loose, so as not to injure the said letters. The blind are, therefore, mainly dependent upon lending libraries.

Circulating libraries of this kind were founded in Leipzig and Hamburg at the close of the last century, offering blind Germans literature for recreation as well as professional training. It is in the works of Kipling, Loens and Selma Lagerloef that the blind see Nature as it is. In 1917 a University library for the blind was established, mainly for those blinded in the War, at Marburg.

The three libraries at Hamburg, Leipzig and Marburg not only supply blind readers in their own areas, but throughout Germany, and in areas beyond the German frontiers. Music is also available for the blind at these libraries. Naturally, these libraries have to be up-to-date, and the purchase of new books is costly. It is usually too dear for printing works, the circulation not being large enough in most cases, and many of the books are produced in handwriting, so as to save printing charges. The libraries produce their own books in this manner. The Post Office only charges 3 pfennigs per 11 pound parcel of Braille books in Germany, equal to about a half penny, while the same sum carries a 2¼ pound parcel to any part of the world from Germany. This is an important point, and an international postal agreement enables it to be carried out, for most blind persons would be unable to afford a high charge.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

THE DIGVIJAYA OF AYURVEDA

Ayurveda is one of the greatest achievements of creative India and among the Indian world-conquerors of ancient and medieval times we have to count the heroes of Ayurvedic medicine.

It is erroneous to believe that the expansion of Hindu culture in Asia and Europe was consummated only by the followers of Buddha and his faith. The digvijaya of Indians in the world outside of India was performed by legion of Indian celebreties who had no professional connection with any religion, Brahmanical or Buddhistic. In Burma, Siam, Indo-China, Sumatra, Java and other lands the laws and morals of Manu constituted the foundations of society. The poets and philosophers who formulated the ideals of the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*, as well as the architects and sculptors who gave shape to those ideals were also some of the Indian world-conquerors who contributed to the establishment of Greater India in foreign countries.

Charaka is like Manu, Valmiki, Vyasa, Buddha and others one of the embodiments of Hindu digvijaya or conquest of the quarters.

In Tibetan paintings of the Middle Ages we can see the professors of Ayurveda lecturing to the scholars in their home-schools. In Chinese texts of the Sui dynasty the great Hindu metallurgist Nagarjuna is named the "Snake-Tree" and is venerated as a profound master of medical science.

Throughout Moslem Asia from the west of the Punjab up to the end of the Saracen Empire the schools of Charaka and Vagbhata were held in esteem thanks to the Arabic translations of Sanskrit texts. In earlier times the ancient Greeks as well as their successors the Romans were used to some of the drugs popularized by Hindu masters. Towards the end of the Middle Ages, again, it was in search of the spices as well as the drugs that the Europeans discovered the new routes, etc. The scientific tenacity of Ayurveda through milleniums and its digvijaya in the four quarters of the world are two of the most solid realities of world-history and international culture.

Even now Ayurvedic treatment and drugs are exhibiting their mettle and holding their own in the teeth of tremendous competition from the European system of medicine. Ayurveda is indeed witnessing a renaissance on account of the patriotism, nationalistic self-sacrifice and *Swadeshi* enthusiasm of Kavirajas like the late Shyamadas and others. The time is not distant when the Government, more and more *swarajified* as it is going to be, will be compelled to treat the Ayurvedic schools and colleges established by patriots with the same financial favours as the medical institutions of the European brand. We can then look forward to a new epoch of digvijaya for Ayurveda in the two Hemispheres.

What India needs today for the establishment of Ayurveda as a world-science is the deputation of Indian specialists in this system to the laboratories and clinics of the U.S.A. and Europe. There they would have to carry on their demonstrations in contact with the American and European experiments in modern medicine. It is necessary to impress upon Indian Ayurvedists the importance of going over to the continent and demonstrate, for instance, the science of poisons as developed in the schools of Charaka and others. There should be an organised effort today to employ a number of Kavirajas exclusively in Ayurvedic research without much attention to medical practice. India cannot afford to keep Ayurveda in the condition in which it was in the days of Chakrapani.

There is another problem of extraordinary importance with regard to the future of Ayurveda. Large industrial establishments require to be taken in hand by financiers in co-operation with the Ayurvedic experts in order to manufacture Ayurvedic drugs and medicines on a large scale so that the remedies prescribed by the Kavirajas may be had for the asking and at reasonable prices. This is an industry well worth the attention of India's economic planners.

Benoy Kumar Sarkar

SWEDEN'S FOOD SUPPLY AND CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT

In an article on "Sweden's food supply" published in the Swedish newspaper *Goeteborgs Handels-och Sjoefarts Tiding* (independent liberal), 8th September, 1939, the role played by the agricultural co-operative movement is referred to in a detailed manner.

"It is not only the increase in the production of both vegetable and animal foodstuffs, says the article, which entitles us to take an optimistic view of our possibilities of supply even if we were cut off from foreign sources and which justifies the opinion that our present position is totally different from that of 1917. Not only have farmers increased production and raised the quality of their produce during recent years, but they have also organised the collecting and processing of the products in a more rational way. This has been accomplished by means of co-operation between producers. The agricultural co-operative movement has been extended, as regards the most important agricultural products marketed, to cover the majority of the producers and by far the greater part of the output, and it has thus become possible to utilise all the modern technical means of processing and transportation. As a consequence the products have also been improved in quality and durability. Almost all the butter which is marketed is high-grade branded butter.

The slaughterhouses are, among other things, fitted with modern cold storage equipment. Owing to the fact that the co-operative slaughterhouses work on a very large scale, it is also possible to utilise all the offal.

Through the agricultural co-operative movement processing and marketing have been concentrated in large units. The importance of this fact in times of scarcity is obvious. It makes correct estimates of the available supplies possible and thus also a just distribution. Considerable experience has, moreover, been gained by the co-operative societies in regard to storage and transportation, which will be of the greatest value if special measures have to be taken in order to safeguard national supplies.

Thanks to the co-operative societies Sweden has now an expert staff, appropriate premises and modern equipment at her disposal. During the period 1914-1918 large quantities of foodstuffs were spoilt on account of the insufficient arrangements for storing and the lack of experience and competence of those in charge of the goods. That the situation is far more advantageous now is obvious from the fact that the country can store the immense reserve stocks of cereals in its possession. The agricultural co-operative societies have large resources in this respect.

The international situation with the danger of a more or less complete cutting off of foreign goods from the Swedish market has led the public authorities to adopt a series of emergency measures aiming at the safeguarding of national supplies and at the maintenance of the standard of social services. In connection with these measures a number of new public administrative bodies have been set up. The co-operative organisations (and in some cases also the trade unions) are represented on the following five bodies which deal with questions concerning the supply of foodstuffs and the control of prices:

1. *The Food Supply Board.* This board deals with questions concerning the supply of foodstuffs and of certain materials which are necessary for agriculture. In order to render the control of national supplies of such

commodities more efficiently 33 district emergency committees are to be appointed. Moreover, a local (communal) emergency committee is to be set up in each commune.

2. *The Price Control Board*, which has to follow price movements in close contact with the Bank of Sweden and in collaboration with the National Commission on Economic Preparedness for War Conditions. It should be mentioned in this connection that the Government has put into operation a decree on maximum prices, which empowers the public authorities to prescribe maximum prices for such commodities as are essential for consumption or production if it is expected that their price will rise in such a way as to involve a steady deterioration or the purchasing power of the Swedish currency at home or a substantial reduction of the standard of living.

3. *The Import and Export Licensing Board*, from 28th August, the import and export of certain commodities has been prohibited. The export prohibition covers a large number of commodities including the most important Swedish export goods. Authority to grant exemptions from these prohibitions has been given to the Agricultural Commission, previously set up, and the New Licensing Board. The regulation of foreign trade is intended to prevent the exportation of goods which are necessary for the maintenance of Swedish production and to safeguard the supply of foodstuffs, and, further, to control the importation of certain commodities. Moreover, this regulation should give more stability to Swedish foreign trade relations.

4. *The Shipping Board*, which has been set up for the purpose of controlling the transfer or chartering of vessels and the transport of cargoes to foreign ports on Swedish vessels, and, further, of granting export licenses for ship's requirements.

5. *The Industry Committee*, this Committee of experts, in collaboration with the National Commission on Economic Preparedness for War Conditions, is to plan and carry out such measures for the regulation of the supply of raw materials and other materials needed by industry as general conditions may necessitate, and to follow developments in industry in order to propose to the Government the adoption of such emergency measures as may appear necessary.

Further, a number of boards have been set up for more particular purposes, namely: the *Petrol Board*, the *Wood Board*, the *Coal Board* and the *War Risk Insurance Board*. Steps have further been taken in order to ensure the necessary collaboration between the various boards and committees.

On 14th October a Ministry of National Supply was established under which the above mentioned Boards and Committees are working.

No system of rationing of foodstuffs has so far been introduced in view of the comparatively favourable situation as regards supplies. A number of consumers' co-operative societies have, however, adopted a voluntary system of card rationing for certain commodities as a temporary measure. Moreover, notwithstanding the inconvenience and increased costs entailed by a system of rationing, the Swedish Co-operative Union and the Swedish Confederation of Trade Unions have requested the immediate introduction of such regulation for certain necessaries of life. It is pointed out by both organisations that it is better to take such measures while supplies are ample than to postpone them to a date when stocks have been considerably reduced. These measures would also strengthen and maintain the feeling that all have the same rights irrespective of differences in income and wealth.

It should finally be mentioned that the Co-operative Union has recently published material, intended for the co-operative study groups, on questions of food supply and on the emergency measures taken in Sweden. Co-operators are thus given an opportunity of discussing these problems and of obtaining a better understanding of the general situation and its requirements.

Benoy Kumar Sarkar

Reviews and Notices of Books

What English Education Has Made of Us—By Prof. T. K. Datta, M.A., Doaba House, Mohanlal Road, Lahore.

The main thesis of Mr. Datta is "how to remove the evils of English education and how to save us from denationalisation" (p. 120). He is evidently a patriot of the orthodox school but, unfortunately for him, he is not consistent in his point of view nor very sound in his knowledge of the facts he examines. As illustration of this we may refer to some of the observations made by him in different parts of his book. Condemning the contact with the West through English education a dozen times or more, although stretching a point in favour of the missionaries for their "noble mission of popularising English thoughts and ideas," the writer goes on to tell us somewhat unguardedly "But India since those Upanisadic days is now a far greater India because she has been impregnated by the light of the West" (p. 125). He has, however, deplored the fact that Indians have forgotten their culture and civilisation as a result of their acquaintance with western modes of life and thought. Few people will agree with Mr. Datta when he says that "The Hindus only built temples and thatched cottages (p. 37)." The magnificent cities which India owed to their genius are not yet lost and, if Mr. Datta visits some parts of the Indian continent, he will see enough reason to revise his opinion even without being a student of history. Mr. Datta does not believe in education for women. His idea is that they should know enough to feed and nurse their children and from the stress he lays upon cooking, it is evident that his plan is to impart this art to women in order to make men's lives pleasant and comfortable. He thinks that educated women abhor cooking and looking after their children, that they give all their time to playing tennis and going about the country in high speed cars. Mr. Datta does not know that the pinch of hunger drives hundreds of women graduates to hard, grinding labour at offices, schools, and other institutions and that the life he imagines is enjoyed by the rich even in the absence of the most rudimentary education. He concludes the book with an exhortation to women to "rock the cradle and rule the world." His plan in the book is ambitious. He deals with unemployment, education and offers his observations on social reform. But the book reveals neither the breadth of vision nor the command over facts which only would have made such an attempt fruitful. Mr. Datta in addition to his somewhat prejudiced treatment of the Indian situation to-day, seems to be entirely careless about his English and dozens of mistakes disfigure his pages.

H. C. Mookerjee

Aims and Ideals of Ancient Indian Culture—By Brojosundar Roy, M.A., B.L.—Published by A. Ray and Co., Calcutta, pp. 177. Price Rs. 2.

It is indeed doubtful if the decadence of Ancient Indian Culture is as much due to the excessive spirituality of the Hindus as the decline of the Roman Empire was to the excessive materialism of the Romans. But it is nevertheless evident that the present crisis in civilisation is the natural result of a decreasing faith in the spiritual values of life. And it is very heartening to find that after the failure of the Marxian recipe, the great savants of the West are seeking for a remedy in a spiritual and moral regeneration of mankind. At this stage therefore, a study of the ancient Indian culture like Mr. Roy's book is very welcome.

Most books about ancient India are either too academic or wholly dogmatic. Mr. Roy has avoided both extremes. He has never sacrificed accuracy and precision in his appraisement. Mr. Roy makes a fervent appeal for a readjustment of values in which the ancient Hindu culture must have to play a very important part. The book is as much illuminating as it is inspiring.

H. C. MOOKERJEE

Currents of Thought in European Literature—By Brojosundar Roy, M.A., B.L.—Published by A. Roy and Co., pp. XVII × 163. Price Re. 1-12-0.

It must have occurred to the students of literary criticism that in understanding and evaluating literature critics would either emphasise national tradition or glorify individual genius. But to those who do not wish to set up a 'school' it would appear that a poet is as much the creature as the creator of his times. They would naturally think that it is not an "airy nothing" that a poet encloses in his verses ; the mind of the poet, they would feel, acts and reacts upon the accumulated experiences of ages and gives them a significance which generally escapes habitual apprehension. Principal Roy in his "Currents of Thought in the European Literature" gives us a very systematic and thoughtful study of those forces, social, religious, political or otherwise which go into the making of literature and constitute the tradition of an age. Principal Roy has very ably discussed the rise of modern European literature from a mutual recognition between racial character and foreign legacy. The students of our Universities will read this book with profitable enlightenment, especially those, who, owing to their insufficient knowledge of history, are not much benefited by Greirson's "Cross Currents" or Daiche's "Literature and Society." I congratulate Principal Roy on this achievement.

H. C. MOOKERJEE

The Munro System of British Statesmanship in India—By Dr. K. N. V. Sastri, Punjab, University of Mysore, 1939.

Dr. K. N.V. Sastri deserves the thanks of students of the development of Indian polity for this very clear exposition of the system of government initiated by Sir Thomas Munro. For Sir Thomas Munro we have Gleig's Life in three volumes published in 1832, Arbuthnot's *Selections* published in 1386 and Bradshaw's biography published in 1894. Dr. Sastri has carried on further researches on Munro and has published fresh documents to illustrate his system with a very able introduction.

In the building up of a stable British administration in India two schools of administrators made their appearance. One ignored altogether local institutions and customs and tried to plant western ideas and forms on Indian soil and the other believed that a permanent governmen for the welfare of the people could be established only on the solid foundations of indigenous institutions. Of the early administrators Warren Hastings belonged to the latter school and Cornwallis to the former. Englishmen engaged in revenue work separated as they were from their own countrymen and compelled to move about among Indians, acquired a more intimate knowledge of Indian institutions and traditions and saw the importance of preserving them. Sir Thomas Munro lived and worked among Indians and laid his life in their service. He was therefore in a far better position to formulate sound principles of government than Cornwallis, Wellesley or Dalhousie. Unlike Cornwallis and like Hastings, Munro maintained that "it is one of the primary obligations of a government like ours to suit its rules and forms of local administration to the condition of the people." Unlike Cornwallis and like Hastings again, Munro believed in associating Indians with the administration and pointed out that "if we pay the same price for integrity, we shall find it as readily amongst natives as Europeans." But Munro alone had the wisdom and courage to make what was in his time a bold statement that the object of British government in India should be to "so far improve the character of our Indian subjects as to enable them to govern and protect themselves," thereby visualising the ultimate withdrawal of the English from India.

In drawing attention to these ideas of government held by Sir Thomas Munro, Dr. Sastri does great service to those who have been accustomed to read of Munro only as a soldier and the founder of the ryotwar system.

Munro's ideas were neither confined to himself nor applicable only to the problems of his own times. His opinions were sought by the Directors and Parliament, and influenced many of their decisions. Dr. Sastri believes that "every charter act from 1813 and every declaration of high policy in India from 1858 has contained one or other principle of Munro." Besides Munro had faithful followers of his policy in Malcolm and Elphinstone and in Metcalfe and Henry Lawrence, and through them his principles of government developed into a system. Sir Thomas Munro and his followers in India cannot be thought of except as the Indian branch of the school of English liberal politicians originating from Burke and Bentham. As such Dr. Sastri's work is an interesting study in the influence of liberal political theory on the development of British administration in India.

A.P.D.G.

Ourselves.

[I. Political Science Conference.—II. Minto Professorship of Economics.—III. Inter-University Board on Standardisation of Syllabus for Matriculation Examination or its Equivalent.—IV. Election of Ordinary Fellows by Registered Graduates.—V. Election of Representatives to the Syndicate.—VI. Imperial Council of Agricultural Research.—VII. Re-appointment of Asutosh Professor of Islamic Culture.—VIII. Educational Conference.—IX. A New Ph.D.—X. Burmah Oil Company's Donation.—XI. Dates for University Examination.—XII. Revised Dates for L.T. and B.T. Examinations.—XIII. Report on the Teachers' Training Certificate Examination (General), October, 1939.—XIV. Report on the Teachers' Training Certificate Examination (Geography), October, 1939.—XV. Report on the English Teachership Certificate Examination, October, 1939.—XVI. Reports on the Preliminary Scientific, First, Second, Third and Final M.B. Examination November, 1939.]

I. POLITICAL SCIENCE CONFERENCE

Dr. Pramathanath Banerjea, M.A., D.Sc., Barrister-at-Law, M.L.A. (Central), presided over the second session of the Indian Political Science Conference held in January this year at Lahore. Dr. Banerjea is a well known figure in the domain of Indian Politics and His Excellency Sir Henry Craik, Governor of the Punjab, while opening the Conference rightly observed:

"There is another reason why I gladly accepted your kind invitation to open this Conference and that is that your President for the current year, Dr. P. N. Banerjea, is an old acquaintance of mine, and I was for some years a colleague of his in the Central Assembly, whose benches he still adorns. Although in that body our views occasionally differed on the controversial questions of the day, I always listened with the greatest respect and attention to his contributions to the debate, and so indeed did the whole House. That is not surprising, for there were few in that House who could speak with his authority on economic topics, since he was for many years Minto Professor of that subject in the University of Calcutta and has been President of the Indian Economic Conference. I congratulate you, gentlemen, on having as your President for your first meeting in Lahore a personage of Dr. Banerjea's distinction and reputation."

* * *

II. MINTO PROFESSORSHIP OF ECONOMICS

The Senate at its Annual Meeting decided to meet the salary of the Minto Professor of Economics out of the Fee Fund from next year, as the grant made by the Central Government since the establishment of the Chair in 1909 will be discontinued from after the 7th March, 1940. The Government of Bengal were approached in this connexion for a grant but they expressed their inability to make it.

* * *

III. INTER-UNIVERSITY BOARD ON STANDARDISATION OF SYLLABUS FOR MATRICULATION EXAMINATION OR ITS EQUIVALENT

The Inter-University Board has decided to appoint a Sub-Committee to devise ways and means for securing as much uniformity as possible in the subjects and courses of study for the Matriculation Examination or its equivalent held in India under the auspices of Universities and Boards of High Schools. Invitation has been issued to these organisations to submit suggestions for a suitable syllabus. The Sub-Committee will meet early in March next.

* * *

IV. ELECTION OF ORDINARY FELLOWS BY REGISTERED GRADUATES

We have much pleasure in announcing that Sir Nilratan Sircar, KT., M.A., M.D., LL.D., D.C.L., F.S.M.F. (Bengal) and Professor Harendracoomar Mookerjee, M.A., PH.D., M.L.A., have both been returned unopposed to the Senate by the Registered Graduates of the University.

* * *

V. ELECTION OF REPRESENTATIVES TO THE SYNDICATE

The following representatives to the Syndicate were elected for the year 1940-41 at the Annual Meeting of the Senate:—

Susilkumar Mukherjee, Esq., L.M.S. (CAL.), D.O. (OXON.), D.O.M.S. (LOND.), F.R.C.S. (EDIN.), F.S.M.F. (BENGAL).
B. M. Sen, Esq., M.A. (CANTAB.), M.SC.
The Hon'ble Mr. Justice C. C. Biswas, C.I.E., M.A., B.L.
Khan Bahadur Tasadduq Ahmed, B.A., B.T., M.ED.

VI. IMPERIAL COUNCIL OF AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH

Professor J. N. Mukherjee has been appointed with the permission of the University to the Editorial Committee of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research. The appointment, which is an honorary one, is for the term of one year only.

* * *

VII. RE-APPOINTMENT OF ASUTOSH PROFESSOR OF ISLAMIC CULTURE

We have much pleasure in announcing that Government has sanctioned the re-appointment of Professor Md. Zubair Siddiqi, M.A., B.L., PH.D. (CANTAB.), as Asutosh Professor of Islamic Culture in the University until he completes his 60th year.

* * *

VIII. EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE

The fifteenth session of the All-India Educational Conference of the All-India Federation of Educational Association was held at Lucknow during Christmas week last year. Professor Sir S. Radhakrishnan, KT., M.A., D.LITT., F.B.A., participated in its deliberation as the representative of our University.

* * *

IX. A NEW PH.D.

We congratulate Mr. Indubhusan Banerjee, M.A., Post-Graduate Lecturer in History in this University, on his being admitted to the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy with a thesis entitled "Evolution of the Khalsa, Vol. I" and a subsidiary one "The Bacitra Natak," both of which were examined by a board consisting of the following members:—Mr. H. L. O. Garret, C.I.E., M.A., Sir Edward Douglas Maclagan, K.C.S.I., M.A., and Mr. H. C. Rawlinson, C.I.E., M.A., F.R. HIST. S.

* * *

X. BURMAH OIL COMPANY'S DONATION

The Burmah Oil Company has promised to place the sum of £2,500 at the disposal of our University as a mark of appreciation for assistance rendered to it in mud research problems by one of our Professors, Dr. J. N. Mukherjee and also for the ready co-operation given by our University. The generous offer has been thankfully accepted and a Committee with the following gentlemen has been appointed to formulate a scheme on the subject of mud research problems :—

(1) The Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor.

(2) Sir Upendranath Brahmachari, Kt., Rai Bahadur, M.A., M.D., PH.D., F.R.A.S.B., F.N.I., F.S.M.F. (BENGAL).

(3) Bidhanchandra Roy, ESQ., B.A., M.D., M.R.C.P., F.R.C.S. (Eng.) F.S.M.F. (Bengal).

(4) Professor Praphullachandra Mitra, M.A., PH.D.

(5) Syamaprasad Mookerjee, Esq., M.A., B.L., D.LITT., Barrister-at-Law, M.L.A.

(6) Professor Jnanendranath Mukherjee, D.SC. (Lond.).

* * *

XI. DATES FOR UNIVERSITY EXAMINATIONS

The following dates have been fixed for holding the examinations mentioned below :—

B.Com.—1940 ...	Wednesday, the 1st May, 1940
M.B.—April 1940 ...	Monday, the 2nd April, 1940
D.P.H., Part I ...	Tuesday, the 27th February, 1940
D.P.H., Part II ...	Wednesday, the 17th April, 1940
English Teachership Certificate Examination—April, 1940 ...	Monday, the 22nd April, 1940
Teachers' Training Certificate (General)—April, 1940 ...	Wednesday, the 24th April, 1940
Teachers' Training Certificate (Geography)—April, 1940...	Monday, the 22nd April, 1940
Junior Military Certificate ...	Thursday, the 11th April, 1940

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XII. REVISED DATES FOR L.T. & B.T. EXAMINATIONS

The commencing date for the next L.T. and B.T. examinations, which was fixed for the 15th April, 1940, has been changed to the 16th April, 1940, as the earlier date is a University holiday.

XIII. REPORT ON THE TEACHERS' TRAINING CERTIFICATE EXAMINATION (General), OCTOBER, 1939

The following is the statement of results of the above examination:—

The number of candidates registered for the examination was 37, of whom 3 were absent.

The number of candidates who actually sat for the examination was 34, of whom 26 were successful. Of the successful candidates 3 passed with Distinction.

The percentage of pass is 76·4.

* * *

XIV. REPORT ON THE TEACHERS' TRAINING CERTIFICATE EXAMINATION (Geography), OCTOBER, 1939

The following is the statement of results of the above examination:—

The number of candidates registered for the examination was 137, of whom none were absent.

The number of candidates who actually sat for the examination was 137, of whom 124 were successful.

Of the successful candidates 7 passed with Distinction.

The percentage of pass is 90·5.

The percentage of pass in April, 1939 was 92·4.

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XV. REPORT ON THE ENGLISH TEACHERSHIP CERTIFICATE EXAMINATION, OCTOBER, 1939

The following is a statement of results of the above examination:—

The number of candidates registered for the examination was 26, of whom none were absent. The number of successful candidates was 16.

The percentage of pass is 61·5.

XVI. REPORTS ON THE PRELIMINARY SCIENTIFIC, FIRST, SECOND, THIRD AND FINAL M.B. EXAMINATIONS, NOVEMBER, 1939

Preliminary Scientific M.B. Examination, Nov. 1939

The number of candidates registered for the examination was 64, of whom 55 passed, 9 failed.

First M.B. Examination, Nov. 1939

The number of candidates registered for the examination was 123, of whom 90 passed, 32 failed and one was absent. Of the successful candidates no one obtained Honours.

Second M.B. Examination, Nov. 1939.

The number of candidates registered for the examination was 156, of whom 75 passed, 80 failed and 1 was absent. Of the successful candidates none obtained Honours.

Third M.B. Examination, Nov. 1939

The number of candidates registered for the examination was 106, of whom 84 passed and 22 failed. Of the successful candidates none obtained Honours.

Final M.B. Examination, 1939

The number of candidates registered for the examination was 224, of whom 85 passed, 135 failed and 4 were absent. Of the successful candidates none obtained Honours.

NOTICE

VINCENT MASSEY SCHOLARSHIP FOR 1940-41

ANNOUNCEMENT

1. **Applications invited.**

Applications are invited for the Vincent Massey Scholarship for 1940-41.

2. **Nature of the Scholarship.**

This Scholarship has been made possible by the generosity of Sir Vincent Massey of Canada as a token of good-will towards India. The Scholarship is of the value of 2,000 dollars (inclusive of all expenses) and is tenable for one year at the University of Toronto for Post-Graduate work (ordinarily Masters degree).

3. **The award of Scholarship.**

The Scholarship is to be awarded by His Excellency the Viceroy at the recommendations of a Committee of Selection. The General Secretary of the Y. M. C. A.'s in India, is the Secretary of this Committee. In addition to the value of the Scholarship, the University of Toronto has agreed to remit the regular tuition fees in the case of this Scholarship. This concession will not apply to laboratory fees for Sciences.

4. **Qualifications of the Applicants.**

The applicants should be the holders of a first class M.A., M.Sc,, or an Honours degree.

5. **Subjects available at the University of Toronto.**

Opportunities for Post-Graduate students at Tornoto are available in the following Subjects :—

Greek, Latin, Semitics, English History, Political Science and Economics, Law, Philosophy, Psychology, Educational Theory, Mathematics, Physics, Astronomy, Biology, Botany, Anatomy, Bio-Chemistry, Zymology, Physiology, Food Chemistry, Pathology and Bacteriology, Pathological Chemistry, Chemistry, Geology and Palaeontology, Minerology, Hygiene and Preventive Medicine, Physiological Hygiene, Epidemiology and Biometrics, Anthropology, Pharmacology, Agriculture.

6. **When and whom to apply.**

The applications for Scholarship should reach the undersigned not later than the 15th February, 1940, on prescribed form in triplicate which can be had for four annas from the undersigned. The copies of the Testimonials must be submitted on papers specially provided with the Applications.

7. Calendar of the School of Graduate Studies.

(*a*) Calendar of the School of Graduate Studies of the University at Toronto for the year 1931-32 was sent to the Registrars of all the Universities in India with the request that it may be made available to the public for consultation through University libraries.

(*b*) A summary of the Calendar is available from the undersigned on receipt of four annas in stamps.

N.B.—(*i*) Women candidates are not eligible for this Scholarship.

(*ii*) Applications should be addressed to the undersigned by designation and not by name.

J. S. AIMAN,
Hony. Secretary.

5th January 1940.

Vincent Massey Scholarship Selection
Committee.
5, Russell Street Calcutta.

UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA

Latest Publications

The Evolution of Indian Industries, by Dr. Rohinimohan Chaudhuri, M.A., Ph.D. Royal 8vo pp. 456+ix. Rs. 5.

Alivardi and His Times, by Dr. Kalikinkar Datta, M.A., Ph.D. Royal 8vo pp. 308+xv. Rs. 4.

Convocation Addresses, Vol. VII, pp. 164+vi. Rs. 2-8.

Patua Sangit, by Mr. G. S. Dutt, I.C.S. pp. 116. Rs. 1-8.

Girischandra, by late Mr. Debendramohan Bose. Demy 8vo pp. 112. Re. 1.

Banglar Banking, by Dr. Harischandra Sinha, M.A., Ph.D. Demy 8vo pp. 224. Rs. 1-12.

Emanuel Kant (in Bengali), by Mr. Humayun Z. A. Kabir, M.A. (Oxon.). Demy 8vo pp. 104.

Bharater Silpa Katha, by Mr. Asitkumar Haldar. Demy 8vo pp. 260.

Bhota-Prakasa (A Tibetan Chrestomathy), by MM. Prof. Vidhusekhar Bhattacharya. D/Fcap 8vo pp. 578+lix. Rs. 5.

Kavyadarsa (Sanskrit and Tibetan Texts), by Mr. Anukul Chandra Banerjee, M.A. D/Fcap 8vo pp. 286+xxiv. Rs. 3.

Hetutattvopadesa of Jitari (Reconstructed Sanskrit Text with the Tibetan Version), by Mr. Durga Charan Chattopadhyay, M.A. D/Fcap 8vo pp. 74+xviii. Rs. 1-8.

Indian Steel and Protection, by Mr. K. Khosla, M.A. Demy 8vo pp. 133+x. Rs. 2.

Rabirasmi (*in Bengali*), Part II, by Mr. Charu Bandyopadhyay, M.A. Royal 8vo pp. 396. Rs. 3-0.

Exploration in Tibet, by Swami Pranavananda. D/Demy 16mo pp. 161+xx. Rs. 2-8.

Studies in Tantras, Part I, by Dr. Prabodhchandra Bagchi, M.A., Dr. es Lettres (Paris). Demy 8vo pp. 118.

Books in the Press

FEBRUARY, 1940

1. The Problem of Minorities, by Dr. Dhirendranath Sen, M.A., Ph.D.
2. Generalities (*Readership Lectures*), by F. W. Thomas, Esq., M.A.
3. Jubilee French Course, by J. Buffard, Esq.
4. Nyayamanjari, Part I, Edited by Pandit Panchanan Tarkabagis.
5. Santhal Insurrections, by Dr. K. K. Datta, M.A., Ph.D.
6. Sree Krishna Bijay, Edited by Rai Bahadur Prof. Khagendranath Mitra, M.A.
7. Land System of Bengal, by Rai Bahadur Mahendranath Gupta, M.A., B.L.
8. General Catalogue of Bengali Manuscripts, edited by Mr. Manindramohan Bose, M.A.
9. Post-Graduate Vol. (Arts and Science) 1939.
10. Courtesy in Shakespeare, by Dr. Mohinimohan Bhattacharyya, M.A., Ph.D.
11. University Calendar for the year, 1940.
12. Krishi-Bijnan, Vol. II, by the late Rai Rajeswar Dasgupta, Bahadur.
13. Agamasastra, by MM. Prof. Vidhusekhar Bhattacharyya (Sastri).
14. Asok, by Dr. Surendranath Sen, M.A., Ph.D., B.Litt. (Oxon.).
15. Vyaptipanchaka, by Pt. Anantakumar Tarkatirtha.
16. Bharatiya Banaushadhir Parichaya, by Dr. Kalipada Biswas, M.A., D.Sc. and Mr. Ekkari Ghosh.
17. Journal of the Department of Letters, Vol. XXXIII.
18. Nyayamanjari, Part II, Edited by Pandit Panchanan Tarkabagis.
19. Industrial Finance in India, by Dr. Sarojkumar Bose, M.A., Ph.D.
20. Collected Published Papers, by the late Mr. Hemchandra Dasgupta, M.A., F.G.S.
21. University Questions for the year 1932.
22. Khandakhadyaka, Sanskrit Text, edited by Mr. Prabodhchandra Sengupta, M.A.
23. Translation of Pali Literature and Language, by Dr. Batakrishna Ghosh, Dr.Phil., D.Lit.
24. Siddhanta Sekhara, Vol. II, by Pandit Babua Misra.
25. Calendar, Part II, 1929, Supplement 1936.
26. Old Persian Inscriptions, by Dr. Sukumar Sen, M.A., Ph.D.

27. Some Historical Aspects of the Inscriptions of Bengal, by Dr. Binaychandra Sen, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.).
28. History of Bengali Language and Literature, by Rai Bahadur Dr. Dineschandra Sen, B.A., D.Litt.
29. Calculus of Finite Differences, by Mr. Pramathanath Mitra, M.A.
30. Industry in India, by Dr. P. N. Banerjea, M.A., D.Sc. (Lond.), Barrister-at-Law.
31. Some Published Papers, by Sir U. N. Brahmachari, Kt., M.A., M.D., Ph.D., F.A.S.B.
32. Lectures on Art, by Dr. Abanindranath Tagore, C.I E.
33. Manobijnan, by Mr. Charuchandra Sinha, M.A.
34. Calendar, Part II 1929, Supplement 1937.
35. University Questions for the year 1933.
36. Europer Silpakatha, by Mr. Asitkumar Haldar.
37. Manasamangal, by Mr. Jatindramohan Bhattacharyya.
38. **History of Indian Literature, Vol. III, by late Prof. M.** Winternitz, Ph.D.
39. Gitar-Bani, by Mr. Anilbaran Ray.
40. Orthographical Dictionary, edited by Mr. Charuchandra Bhattacharyya.
41. Cynowulf and Cynowulf Canon, by Mr. S. K. Das, M.A., Ph.D.
42. Journal of the Departments of Science, Vol. I, No. 3.
43. Elements of the Science of Language (Revised Edition), by Dr. I. J. S. Taraporewala, B.A., Ph.D.
44. Asutosh Sanskrit Series, Edited by MM. Prof. V. Sastri.
45. University Calendar, Part II, 1937.
46. Raisekharer Padavali, by Mr. Jatindramohan Bhattacharyya.

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY PUBLICATIONS

VI. ECONOMICS, POLITICS, COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY

Economics of Leather Industry, by the same author. Demy 8vo. pp. 194. 1926. Rs. 2-8.

In this book the author makes a careful economic survey of the existing sources of supply and deals with the economic importance of leather, causes of the decline of the indigenous leather industry, the export trade of raw hides and skins and the possibilities of successful leather industry in this country. The book contains valuable suggestions for the improvement of the raw material on which the economic life of various branches of leather industry depends.

"............The series of the articles ought to be read generally by all interested in the industries and commerce of India and particularly by those April, May, June, 1925.

"............The author is to be congratulated upon producing a clear and complete exposition of the Indian trade and of India's raw materials, resources and the characteristics of them.........the information it furnishes will be interesting and valuable to the leather trade universally and the work forms an important addition to the trade's technical literature.''—who are concerned with the leather industry and business."—*Modern Review*, *The Leather Trades Review*, 10th February, 1926.

" The very able and practical monograph—his summary of suggestions deserves to be translated into the leading vernaculars of the country."—*The Mysore Economic Journal.*

" A useful glossary of terms—The book should prove useful to those interested in the economic side of the leather industries in India."—*The Bulletin of the Imperial Institute.*

' The Book is altogether interesting and suggestive and would repay reading."—*The Indian Journal of Economics.*

" Prof. Rau's volume is a great deal more than a mere academic treatise. He keeps himself in close contact with the market-place and is therefore able to offer a number of suggestions which will certainly serve to stimulate the interest of those connected with the trade in the hitherto unexplored possibilities of the leather industry in India. The appendices undoubtedly enhance the intent of the book. We commend this book to businessmen and students alike."—*The United Provinces Co-operative Journal*, July, 1926.

Inland Transport and Communication in Mediæval India, by Bijoykumar Sarkar, A.B. (Harvard), Lecturer in Economics, Calcutta University. Royal 8vo pp. 91. 1925. Re. 1-12.

The object of this book is to study the methods of inland transport and communication in mediæval India, roughly from the 11th to the 18th century A.D. In the preparation of this work, the chronicles of Mahomedan historians and the accounts of foreign travellers have been the author's principal sources of information.

W. H. Moreland :—" I have read Mr. Sarkar's book on Inland Transport with much interest, and I may say that, speaking generally, the method strikes me as sound and the execution satisfactory."

Prof. J. Jolly, Ph.D., University of Wurzburg, Bavaria :—" Mr. B. K. Sarkar's work on Inland Transport and Communication in Mediæval India is no doubt a valuable production. Mr. Sarkar appears to have spared no pains to collect important materials from the most various sources. His book is very pleasant reading and presents a vivid picture of the means of Water and Land Transport during the middle ages. The index is very copious and gives a good idea of the varied contents of the work."

" Adequate and useful study of Transportation. It is a useful service to gather the scattered references and organise the material in a systematic statement."—*American Economic Review.*

Charles Gide :—" Le petit livra de M.S. est d'une lecture agréable, comme serait celle d'un voyage à travers les âges et dans un pays qui n'a pas besoin du recul du temps pour être pittoresque. Une bonne part des reseignements donnés dane ce livre et les plus intéressants, est empruntée au livre d'un Fransais, Tavernier, dont le voyage dane l'Inde au xvii Siècle parait avoir une valeur documentaire, pour l'histoire de l'Indégale à celle du livre de voyage d'Arthur Young pour l'histoire de la France à la veille de la Rêvolution."

Paper Currency in India, by B. B. Dasgupta, M.A., Ph.D. (Cal.), B.Sc. (Econ.), (London), Reader, Lucknow University. Demy 8vo pp. 332. 1927. Rs. 4-0.

" The whole monetary organisation of India is at present being discussed and examined by the public as it never was before; and it is to be hoped that this book which deals exhaustively with our Paper Currency but incidentally also with many other phases of our monetary system will be carefully read by many of the public and will enlighten and guide their judgment. The author has shown in his handling of his thesis, originality of thought and treatment and his work is based on careful and painstaking research. I have read with special interest, attention and instruction the last chapter dealing with the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Indian Currency and Finance. I only wish that many more critics of that Report possessed the scholarly erudition and the well-balanced judgment of our author."—*From the Foreword by Prof. Sir J. C. Coyajee, Kt., I.E.S.*

" Dr. Dasgupta deserves the gratitude of all students of Indian Economics and those engaged in currency controversies for having, for the first time, singled out the whole theory and system of Indian paper currency for a clear analytic treatment, shorn of the many non-economic issues that rightly or wrongly have been allowed to clog it.

The suggestions he makes are marked by a balanced and sound judgment and deserve careful consideration."—*Modern Review*, December, 1927.

Some Bengal Villages, an economic survey, edited by N. C. Bhattacharyya, M.A., B.L., and L. A. Natesan, M.A., B.L., with a Foreword by Sir Daniel Hamilton, Kt. Royal 8vo pp. 236. Rs. 3-0.

The village surveys contained in this volume are the results of the students' efforts. The data will be of some use in stimulating original investigations into the rural conditions of Bengal.

Water Supplies in Bengal, by Nisikanta Ray, B.A., pp. 175. ($5\frac{1}{2}'' \times 7\frac{1}{2}''$). 1936. Re. 1-12.

Land Problems of India, by Radhakamal Mukherjee, M.A., Ph.D. Demy 8vo pp. 369. Rs. 5-0.

This book directs attention to the difficult problems that have daily to be faced by the Indian peasant and calls for reforms which would include a modified State landlordism—a new Zamindarism paving the way for a real agricultural partnership between landlord and tenant—and a rehabilitated village community.

Dr. Radhakamal Mukherjee has in this book used historical and comparative methods in dealing with different types of landholding and village structure and with their economic effects in India. Methods of investigation such as those of Vinogradoff have been followed in tracing the development of clan, caste and communal distribution and village settlement in India. Thus the book is an important contribution to Indian village origins and its approaches from the angles of comparative ethnology and economic history materially supplement Baden-Powell's treatment of the subject.

Even more important is its contribution towards understanding the complexities of the present land system and land unsettlement in India. The supersession of customary rights of peasants by landlord tenures and by the State, their economic weakness due to fractionalisation, the unfair distribution of the burden of taxation, the multiplication of rent-receivers, tenants and agricultural labourers, and the ease and frequency of transfers of land from cultivators to middle and money-lending classes—all these betoken an agrarian crisis in the country. Professor Mukherjee's scheme of agrarian reform includes the modification of the Zamindari system and its approximation to share tenancy as in Italy and Japan; grant of permanence and heritability to all grades of tenants; a drastic reduction of sub-letting and sub-infeudation; restriction of borrowing, mortgage and transfer; compulsory restripment and consolidation of holdings; exemption of undersized holdings from rent and revenue enhancement; a progressive rate of taxation of agricultural income, weighing heavily upon landlords, lessees, and all kinds of intermediaries; redemption and settlement of unsecured debts of agriculturists; abolition of usurious rates of interest and the establishment of debt conciliation and land courts in the villages.

Dr. Mukherjee is keenly alive to the changes in agrarian policy foreshadowed in the New Constitution when the peasantry will gain political power, and in the economic democracy, the first stirrings of which are visible in widespread peasant unrest and tenant revolt. He records the social and

political reactions of the agrarian problem and concludes with a warning that to delay reform, whether from fear of angering vested interests, or from apathy towards the unvocal classes, is to sow the seeds of revolution.

The Rights and Duties of the Indian Citizen *(Second Series of Kamala Lectures)*, by the Rt. Hon'ble Mr. Srinivasa Sastri, P.C. Demy 8vo pp. 126. 1927. Re. 1-8.

The Constitutional System of India, by Nareschandra Roy, M.A., Ph.D. Demy 8vo pp. 386. 1937. Rs. 2-8.

In this book an examination has been made of the constitutional organisation as created by the Government of India Act, 1935. In order that the system inaugurated may be clearly understood, a short and rapid account of the constitutional development since the conferment of the Dewani has been prefixed.

Public Administration in India, (Lectures delivered before the University of Calcutta in 1926-27), by Akshaya K. Ghose, Bar.-at-Law, sometime Professor of Law, History and Politics. Royal 8vo pp. xxi + 743. Excellent get-up and full cloth binding. 1930. Rs. 10-0.

The book deals with every aspect of the Government of India in action. In it the author endeavours to examine and analyse in detail every aspect of the last Reforms, from a purely academic point of view, and to assess their proper constitutional value. It is the only work of its kind. A work of years of study and research, the book in itself is more complete and altogether covers a wider area than any book hitherto published, dealing with the same subject, so as to be recognised as the most authoritative and accurate work on the Government of India in motion.

Prof. A. Berriedale Keith :—"..........a very clear and careful exposition, a sound and thoughtful work which should be easily understood among wide circles of persons interested in understanding the actual constitution of India."

Prof. Edward Jenks :—"..........I shall derive great benefit from its learning and accuracy. And I desire to congratulate the University and the learned author heartily on the production of this monumental work."

Prof. Ernest Barker (Professor of Political Science in the University of Cambridge) :—"......I should like to say that when we make the development of the Government of India since 1858 a subject of study in one of our Triposes here, I am sure that Mr. Ghose's book will be a useful book for reference for our students."

Sir John A. R. Marriott :—"..............It will be useful as a work of reference........"

Prof. J. H. Morgan :—"...........I have already formed the conclusion that it is a most valuable contribution to a subject which has never been adequately dealt with.........Mr. Ghose's work is the very book which all of us who are interested in constitutional developments in India have been waiting for."

Times Literary Supplement (London) :—"...........The book furnishes a comprehensive review of Indian Governmental machinery."

Civil and Military Gazette :—"...........Presented in a correct and logical form......a welcome source of information to students of Indian constitution..........."

Hindu (Madras) :—"........has placed all those who are desirous of a sane, detailed and descriptive account......under indebtedness......a work of great utility.

Liberty (Calcutta) :—"...........The readers will be bound to admire his presentations even when they differ......the book is a mine of information."

Bengalee (Calcutta) :—"...........examines with a scholarly outlook and large interpretative powers......in a thesis of great value.. ...masterly work admirably presented."

A. B. Patrika (Calcutta) :—".........Questions have been dealt with a wealth of language and felicity of expression which at once command respect and create interest which does not flag until you come to the end......has described the delicate machinery of finance and revenue with surprising lucidity ......if reliable description and responsible criticism of the governmental machinery are to be obtained we need only turn to this book."

Advance (Calcutta) :—"...........It is a pleasure to read it......Mr. Ghose has done a real service by putting in print the inner working of the different branches of the administration. Author has come to grips with the machinery of the administration......It is a *vade-mecum* which ought to be in the hands of every student of the subject and publicist. An invaluable help to constructive thinkers and politicians......solid contribution......masterly historical introduction with which he has prefaced every chapter."

Englishman :—"...........wide knowledge and great lucidity. He knows how to take state machinery to pieces, to distinguish its essential from non-essential parts, and to fit the pieces together again so as to show the functions performed by each in relation to others..............the book is bound to be referred to as a work of authority..........."

Calcutta Weekly Notes :—"..........As the reader rises from his persual of the book he is aware not only of some accession to knowledge but also of some definite feeling about every item he has learnt."

Modern Review :—"..........a book......which should be classed with the best standard works on the subject......congratulate the author and the University of Calcutta for having brought out this excellent treatise on a subjec which is now in the forefront."

Servant of India (Poona) :—"........stating the problems dispassionately ....excellent as a descriptive and historical treatment of Indian administrative institutions..........."

Harvard Law Review (U.S A.) :—".........is indeed comprehensive...... historical outline at the outset of each chapter is a very valuable feature of the work...........the treatment of the Provincial government is highly commendable...........The volume presents a broad and highly suggestive view of the British Indian political organisation of to-day."

The Mahratta :—"..........A masterpiece in itself......eminently useful the book is sure to be......will rank high in the great publications......"

Law Journal (Calcutta) :—"...........amount of erudition and political sagacity......fascinating style......book of great merit......excellent production......"

The Case for Financial Justice to Bengal, by J. N. Gupta, M.A., I.C.S. (retd.). Demy 8vo pp. 104. 1932. Re. 1-0.

A monograph dealing with the claims of Bengal for a redress of the injustice of depriving her of the major portion of her revenues and leaving her with totally inadequate and insufficient resources and reducing her to a position of marked inferiority as compared with the other provinces of India. Tracing the early revenue history of the Indian provinces the book shews the financial indebtedness of the rest of India to Bengal owing to the adoption of fundamentally wrong and inequitable principles of the division of the Indian revenues between the Provinces and the Cenral Government. The highly deleterious effects of this unjust treatment on the moral, material and political progress of the province have been described and a strong case made out that without a fairer distribution of her revenue there is no hope for Bengal in any scheme of administration however advanced and democratic a proposition which the Bengal Legislative Council has endorsed in a strongly worded Resolution. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* and the *Modern Review* in favourably reviewing the book state that it contains a very forcible yet moderate exposition of the claims of Bengal to an adequate share in her revenues.

History of Political Thought (From Rammohun to Dayananda, 1821-84), Vol. I: Bengal, by Bimanbihari Majumdar, M.A., Premchand Roychand Scholar. Demy 8vo pp. 518. 1934. Rs. 4-8.

In this book the author traces the ultimate growth of abstract political ideas in British India through a history of the activities of Indian political organizations and of the changing critical attitudes of Indian public men towards the Indo-British administration. The political ideas and theories of the greatest leaders of the Bengal thought in the pre-Congress era have been presented here for the first time in a compact and comprehensive form so as to enable the general readers as well as the statesmen and administrators to come to a better and quicker understanding of the trend of current politics.

Marquess of Zetland.—" I should like to congratulate you upon having produced a volume of great interest and value. I think that the chapter which interested me more than any other was the one on Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, for whom I have always had a great admiration.......I hope that your volume will receive from the public the recognition which it deserves."

Rt. Hon. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru.—" I have found it extremely interesting and informing. I feel that your book will be very useful in giving the present generation of politicians some idea of the men who gave impetus to political thought in India in those far-off days."

Dr. A. Berriedale Keith.—" Contains a vast amount of information which is not familiar to students of political ideas even though well versed in western literature, and it is expressed with admirable lucidity. Moreover the author shows judgment and restraint in marked degree when dealing with matters of controversial type."

Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Kt., C.I.E.—" The book breaks new ground in the study of the history of modern India. The author has worked on sound lines by going to the original sources of his subject, especially the old periodical literature which is growing scarcer day by day."

Dr. Helmuth Von Glasenapp (Königsberg University).—" An excellent piece of work and I read it with the greatest interest."

The Hindu Educational and Literary Supplement (Madras), January, 1, 1935 :—"........Mr. Majumdar must be admitted as having rendered a real service to politicians and students by collecting evidence of continued and intense political thinking during the formative period of Indian nationalism. His work will prove a valuable work of reference, the fruit of wide reading and assiduous research."

Dr. S. K. De (Dacca University).—" It is full and enlightening, very lucidly expressed, covering all important parts of the subject, and gives an attractive and interesting summary not only of the views of the principal thinkers of the period but also of their personalities revealed in their thought.

From the leading editorial article entitled the " Growth of Indian Nationalism " in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, Sept. 27, 1934 : "........The history of the beginning of our national life has for the first time been published with all the antecedent factors and tendencies contributing toward it by Prof. Bimanbihari Majumdar, M.A., P.R.S., of Patna, in his masterly work, ' History of Political Thought.'........From the standpoint of Indian nationalism Prof. Majumdar's book will be considered as having a perennial interest for the reader—a book that amply testifies to the writer's industry and sober scholarship...........A few weeks ago Mr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee, the new Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, gave expression to his desire of bringing the University into closer contact with the public life of the country. Prof. Majumdar's work may be taken as the first step in that direction."

The Hindusthan Review, January, 1935 : "...........Prof. Majumdar has elaborately discussed the history of political organisations in India since 1935. Wrong dates about the Landholders' Society and the British Indian Society given in ' Political India ' edited by Sir John Cumming (p. 33) should be revised in the light of the correct information supplied by the author in pp. 177-185 of this book. We must thank the author for his having taken so much trouble for utilizing for his work the original sources gathered from place to place. Reading old and brittle papers and manuscripts require great patience and skill which the author has fairly exhibited...........His style is lucid and expression attractive; and the book being devoid of dull technicalities and also being sometimes enlivened by touches of humour will be pleasant reading for all, whether specialists or general readers."

From the Leaderette in the *Ananda Bazar Patrika*, 30th Sept., 1934 :

" পাঁচশত পৃষ্ঠার এই গ্রন্থখানি বাঙ্গালার রাজনীতি বিভাগের এক অমূল্য গ্রন্থরূপে পরবর্ত্তীদের আলোচনার পথে আলোক-বর্ত্তিকাস্বরূপ পথ দেখাইবে।"

Calcutta Review, December, 1934 : "...........To achieve his task he has ransacked the whole mass of available literature and has carefully perused the pages of newspapers and periodicals, the names of which are well nigh forgotten in these days...........Next to the author's industry, a reader is bound to admire his broad outlook, his clear vision and his unbiassed criticism of those whom he holds in high esteem........The author's style is good and his language free from bombast. We all welcome the Volume and admire the author for his industry, erudition and clear analysis."

The Modern Review, March, 1935 : " In spite of the qualities of scholarship which appear almost on every page the book is not heavy-reading. The author deserves our thanks for writing the first comprehensive account of our political consciousness in the interesting period of its germination.

The Calcutta Municipal Gazette, June 15, 1935 : " As a background of the present political history of India, it is unquestionably valuable, both for foreigners and Indians themselves."

The Statesman (May 12, 1935).—The book is valuable not only because it brings together much that is of interest and much that has been collected with great care, but because it forms an interesting commentary—albeit indirectly—on the politics of our own time.

VII. LAW

The Evolution of Law, by Nareschandra Sen Gupta, M.A., D.L., Advocate, Calcutta High Court. Royal 8vo pp. 191. 1925. Rs. 2-8.

In this work the author gives a systematic treatment of historical and comparative jurisprudence on the basis of the most up-to-date knowledge of ancient laws and the laws and institutions of retarded races. The work is designed as an introduction to the study of the subject which is treated simply and in broad outline. But it is not a mere collection of the views of other scholars. While the opinions of all standard authorities on the main topics of evolutionary jurisprudence are given, the author has given many new interpretations of facts and has put forward some strikingly new opinions. A remarkable feature of the work is the ample use of materials taken from a historical study of Hindu Law which has hitherto received far less attention than it deserved in connection with questions of evolutionary jurisprudence. This has led the author to formulate new theories of the forms of family organisation, marriage and kinship, law of procedure, of crimes, of the origin of property and of contract and a strikingly original theory of the law of Descent, which, it is hoped, will be found worthy of consideration by scholars. Contrary to accepted views, the author traces the origin of laws of inheritance to donations *mortis causa* or at the time of renunciation and thus establishes the primacy of testamentary over intestate succession. In an appendix the author gives a discussion of the history of the Hindu Joint Family Law which throws much new light on the subject. As the author points out in the preface, the state of our knowledge of the subject being what it is, it is impossible to systematise the existing knowledge of the subject without a certain measure of theorising on one's own account. This the author has done on a large scale and in the treatment of every topic dealt with by him there are new thoughts and interesting new points of view presented which will furnish food for reflection.

The Problems of Aerial Law, by Bijankumar Mukherjee, M.A., D.L. Demy 8vo pp. 255. 1925. Rs. 2-8.

The work is a thesis approved for the Degree of Doctor of Law. It is divided into four chapters:—

Chapter I.—Beginning and Development of Aerial Law. In this chapter, the author has collected the earliest legal ideas on the subject and has attempted to show how these ideas gradually broadened down with increasing discoveries of human science.

Chapter II.—Sovereignty of the Air. Here the author has examined minutely the different theories that have been put forward by different jurists and has suggested all possible arguments that could be advanced either for or against them.

Chapter III.—Principles of International Law relating to the Air Space. This chapter has been subdivided into two parts. In the first part the author has analysed and examined in detail the 45 articles contained in the Air Navigation Convention of 1919 and has suggested alterations wherever the provisions appeared to him to be unsound in principle or unworkable in practice. The other part, which deals with questions of war and neutrality, is much more speculative in nature and the author has built up the law with such materials as were furnished by the analogy of the existing usages of maritine warfare and the practices of the combatants in the last great European War.

Chapter IV.—Principles of Municipal Law relating to the Air Space. In this chapter the author's principal effort has been to establish that a perfectly consistent theory affording a complete solution of the several problems of private law that arise in connection with the use of air space may be constructed from the principles of English Common Law as they have been applied by English and American Courts.

Effect of War on Contracts *(Onauth Nauth Deb Prize, 1917)*, by Praphullachandra Ghosh, M.A., B.L. Demy 8vo pp. 152. Rs. 4-8.

The book describes at length the changes brought about by the last European War in the commercial and financial relations of nations and individuals.

Trading with the Enemy *(Onauth Nauth Deb Prize, 1918)*, by A. C. Gupta, M.A., B.L. Demy 8vo pp. 146. Rs. 4-8.

The volume deals with the general principles of the law (according to the English Common Law) of Trading with the Enemy to which the last European War lent interest and prominence.

Legal Aspects of Strikes (*Onauth Nauth Deb Prize, 1919*), by Prabodhchandra Ghosh, M.A., B.L. Demy 8vo pp. 61. Rs. 2-4. (*Out of Print*).

In the opinion of the author, concerted movements of labour analogous to strikes are as old as history itself. In dealing with the history of strikes he, therefore, traces their origin and course, not only from a legal point of view but also from a historical standpoint and discusses the remedial measures in the light of the condition of labour in other countries.

Occupancy Right—Its History and Incidents (*Onauth Nauth Deb Prize*), by Radharaman Mookerjee, B.L., Vakil, Calcutta High Court; Author of the *Law of Benami*. Demy 8vo pp. 436. Rs. 6-0.

The work contains a history of Land Tenure in India from the earliest Vedic age and traverses practically most of the important and relevant portions of the Bengal Tenancy Act as explained in the leading cases on the subject, and indicates the basic principles thereof.

Position of Women in Hindu Law, by Dwarka Nath Mitra, M.A., D.L., ex-Judge, High Court, Calcutta. Demy 8vo pp. 758. Rs. 12-0.

The work is a thesis approved for the Degree of Doctor of Law in the University of Calcutta. It is generally based on original research as well as on the results achieved by previous writers on Hindu Law. It traces historically the various stages in the development of the position of women in Hindu Law.

General Contents

Chapter I.—Introductory—Scope of the subject—Development of Hindu Law in different periods—Sources of Hindu Law.

Chapter II.—States of Women generally—Right of Women to *Upanayan* and to the study of the Vedas—Tendency in *Dharma Shastras* to reduce women to the level of *Shudras*—Dependence is only moral and not legal subjection—Views of European writers on the question of dependence—Judicial interpre[redacted] of the dependence of Women—Theory of perpetual tutelage—Views taken by different High Courts—Testamentary capacity of Women under Hindu Law—Right of daughters and sisters to maintenance.

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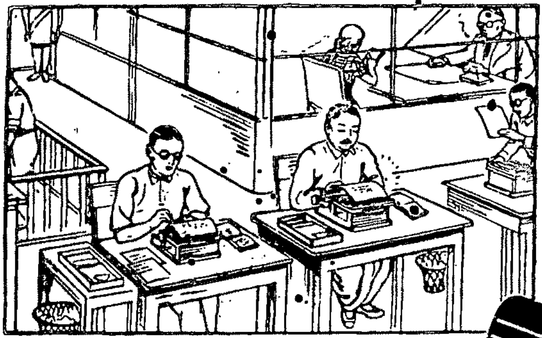

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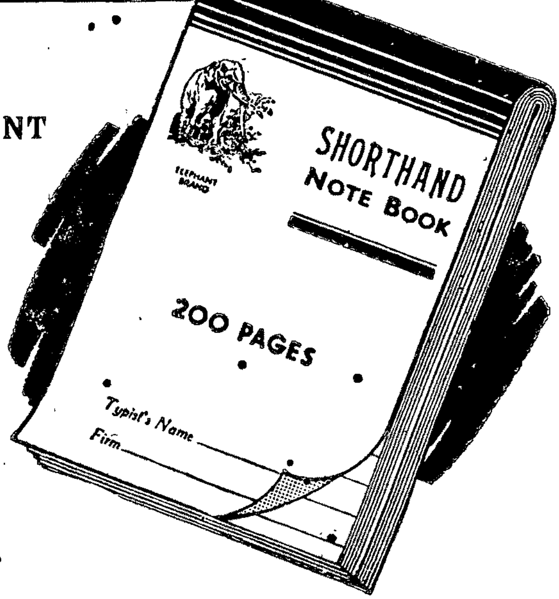

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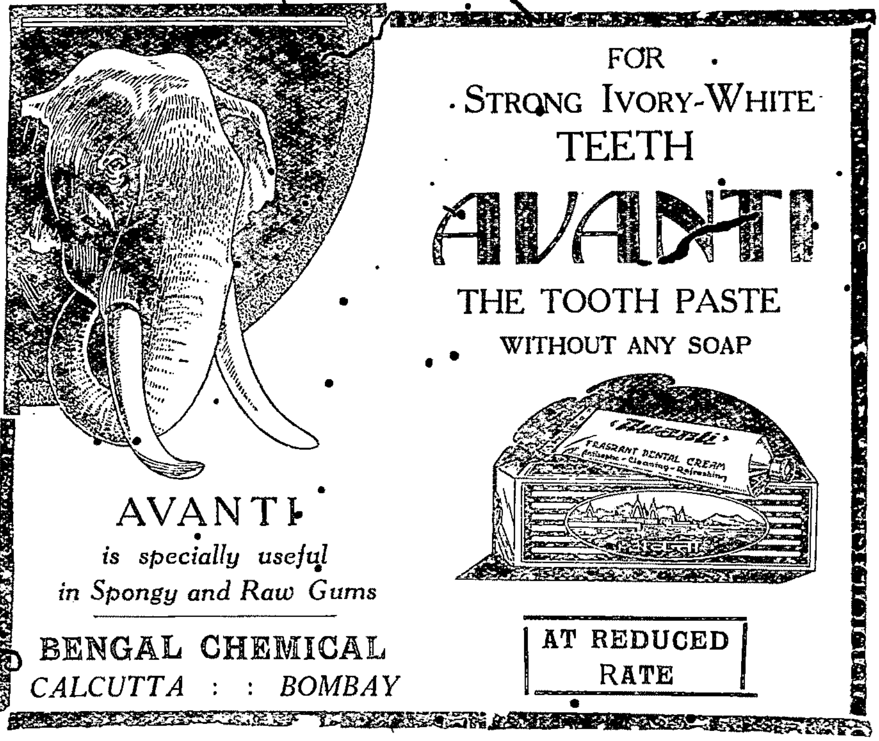

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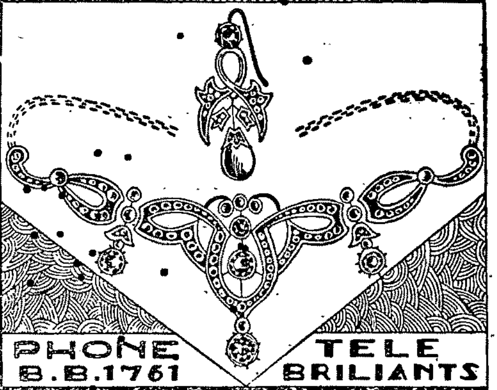

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THE
CALCUTTA REVIEW
MARCH, 1940

THE SHAKESPEAREAN PUZZLE—ENDEAVOURS AFTER ITS SOLUTION

Sir P. C. Rây

V

Shakespeare and the Mermaid Tavern

IN the formative stage of English society alehouses, inns and Taverns were no less important than the play-houses. ‘ Tavern life counted for much in that day. At inns and Taverns a newly arrived stranger would pick up his earliest acquaintance and later, would meet the company of his friends.’ There were no Academies, Societies, Clubs or Associations and consequently the creative geniuses of the nation could not sit together to discuss among themselves the matters which interested them either individually or collectively. The inevitable result of this type of isolated study was that an antiquarian, for example, would ever roam about among his discoveries without being helped by his brother-antiquarians, not to speak of historians and philosophers, who could better interpret their discoveries so as to stimulate a regular course of fruitful research. Thus the national literature was entirely dependent upon individual hobbies and eccentricities and could not be pursued as organised research. Poets would compose verses without ever knowing what would, as a matter of fact, ensure a wider appeal among his readers.

The necessity of finding a common meeting place of the *elite* of the London society first caught the attention of Sir Walter Raleigh and we would certainly do better if we glance for a moment at the origin of the Mermaid Tavern founded by him. Predominantly an adventurer and expert navigator, Raleigh was really versatile in genius and the future writer of the *Historie of the World* required frequent intercourse with the progressive element of the society. Indeed, this requirement of Raleigh demanded a platform where poets would mutter, antiquarians would demonstrate, divines would sermonise and aethists would open their lips unfettered. The demand, it is said, was materialised by the foundation of the Mermaid Tavern.[1]

Taverns were after all very popular among the Elizabethans and the very name Mermaid signifies that it was rather poetic and consequently somewhat *aristocratic* among others of the class, and was the meeting place of a good lot of *literateurs* to discuss matters over a glass of wine which had the effect of heightening their conviviality and lightening their heart. There are numerous contemporary records to show that Raleigh, Beaumont, Fletcher, Donne, Carew, Jonson and many more joined at one time or another and frequented the Mermaid. But absolutely there is no trustworthy record to show our poet's association with the Mermaid Tavern, though tradition connects him with it. Thomas Fuller in his *Worthies* thus narrates:

"Many were the wit-combats betwixt him and Ben Jonson, which two I behold like a Spanish Gallion, and an English man of war; Master Jonson (like the former) was built far higher in learning; Solid, but slow in his performances. *Shakespeare* with *English-man of War*, lesser in bulk, but lighter in sailing. Could turn with all tides, but tack about and take advantage of all winds, by the quickness of his Wit and invention."

Fuller's *Worthies of England* was published posthumously in 1661 but he began to collect materials for the same some time before

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[1] Of Raleigh, we read : "He loved books and the society of men of letters of all kinds. He was a friend of Sir Robert Cotton, the antiquary, who collected the famous library at Cotton House, which became the meeting place of the Scholars of the day. There and elsewhere Raleigh consorted with other men of learning of his times. He was a member of the society of Antiquaries, which archbishop Parker had founded in 1572 and which lasted till 1605, and he is said to have suggested those gatherings at Mermaid Tavern, in Bread Street, where Shakespeare, Ben Jonson; Beaumont and other play-writers met the antiquaries and literary men of the day."—*Cambridge History of English Literature*, Vol. IV.

1641. Ben Jonson died in 1637. We must not, therefore, summarily dispose of the above statement as a specimen of Shakespeare mythos.[1]

That Shakespeare had an intimate knowledge of the manners and customs of the people who used to lead a wild Tavern life is amply evident from his everlasting portraiture of Falstaff's sallies at *Boar's* Head Tavern, East-cheap, which was by far the most notable in Shakespeare's time.[2] According to Prof. Masefield,[3] "The Falstaff scenes are all wonderful. . . . That in which the drunken Pistol is driven downstairs is *the finest tavern scene* ever written."

In recent times poets and authors have taken much delight in drawing up good many fanciful pictures of the imaginary meetings between Shakespeare, Jonson and others. Keats after more than two centuries refers in a very general way to the Mermaid Tavern in the following lines:

"Souls of Poets dead and gone
What Elysium have Ye known
Happy field or mossy Cavern
Choicer than the Mermaid Tavern ?"[4]

David Masson [5] in his exhaustive life of John Milton gives us a very hypothetical picture of so-called meeting between old Shakespeare and boy Milton (1614) when the former accompanied by Ben Jonson came out of the Mermaid Tavern and walked down the Bread Street. A few lines seem worth quoting:

"Sir Walter Raleigh, it is said, had begun a kind of club there before the close of Elizabeth's reign ; during the latter years of that reign and the first of James, while Shakespeare was still in town to make one of the company, the meetings were at their best ; but even after that time they were kept up by the rest of the fraternity. Any time, therefore, between 1608 and 1614, while Milton was a child, we may fancy those meetings going on close to his father's house, at which, over a board covered with cups of Canary, and in a room well filled, surely, with tobacco-smoke, the seated gods exchanged their flashes. Nay, and if we will imagine the precise amount of personal contact that there was or could have been between Shakespeare and our poet, how else can we do so but by supposing that, in that very year 1614 when the dramatist paid his last known visit to London, he may have spent an evening with his old comrades at the Mermaid, and, going down Bread Street with Ben Jonson on his way, may have passed a fair child of six playing at his father's door, and, looking down at him kindly, have thought of a little grave in Stratford church-yard, and the face of his own dead Hamlet ? . . . "

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[1] Had these "Wit-Combats" between Shakespeare and Jonson, which Fuller notices, been chronicled by some faithful *Boswell* of the age, our literary history would have secured an interesting accession.—Disraeli, *Curiosities of Literature*, Vol. I, p. 423.

[2] Boar's Head had never been explicitly named by Shakespeare. The following reference clearly indicates that Shakespeare meant Boar's Head Tavern :

Prince. * * * * Is your master here in London ?
Bard. Yea, my lord.
Prince. Where sups he ? doth the old boar feed in the old frank ?
Bard. At the old place, my lord, in East cheap.
—2 *King Henry IV*, Act. II, Sc. 2.

[3] *William Shakespeare* (Home Library series), p. 117.

[4] *Lines on the Memaid Tavern.*

[5] *Life of Milton in connexion with the History of his Time*, Vol. I, p. 32.

In the present century Alfred Noyes in his *Tales of the Mermaid Tavern* (1913) presents some beautiful portrait of the Mermaid Carousals. Noyes, on one occasion, imagines a meeting between Marlowe and Jonson in the Mermaid:

> " Ben Jonson and Kit Marlowe, arm in arm,
> Swaggered into the Mermaid Inn, and called
> For red-deear pies.
> There, as they supped, I caught
> Scraps of ambrosial talk concerning Will,
> His *Venus and Adonis*."[1]

Again Noyes fancies Raleigh lamenting in the following tone:

> " Why should I stay to chant an idle stave,
> And in my Mermaid Tavern drink alone ?
> For Kit is dead, and Greene is in his grave
> And sweet Will Shakespeare long ago is gone." [2]

But all these are mere fancies and no evidence. These may sound well but do not disclose truth. Volumes of these subsequent and imaginary writings would only strengthen our tradition and may ultimately lead to conviction based on conjecture.

We thus encounter a new enigma as to whether Shakespeare was a member of the Mermaid Tavern. The present writer has placed the available facts in the foregoing pages and draws the attention of his readers to this problem. In the absence of any direct reference to Shakespeare's association with the Mermaid one would naturally decline to believe that Shakespeare was ever a member of the Tavern. But he must not forget that Shakespeare's history, to quote Saintsbury, "is a big perhaps." When almost everybody used to attend a tavern,[1] why should not Shakespeare do so, why should he remain isolated? The universality of his tavern scenes also supports the notion that Shakespeare was in the habit of visiting Taverns and possibly he attended regularly the Mermaid gatherings of which Beaumont, in a poetical letter addressed to Jonson, writes:

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[1] Page 16.
[2] *Ibid*, p. 214.

> "What things have we seen
> Done at the Mermaid! heard words that have been
> So nimble, and so full of subtle flame,
> As if that every one from whence they came
> Had meant to put his whole wit in a jest,
> And had resolved to live a fool the rest
> Of his dull life; then, when there hath been thrown
> Wit able enough to justify the town
> For three days past—wit that might warrant be
> For the whole city to talk foolishly
> Till that were cancell'd; and, when that was gone,
> We left an air behind us, which alone
> Was able to make the two next companies
> Right witty, though but downright fools."

It is rather curious to note that in this epistle though Beaumont refers to Jonson and the Mermaid he speaks not a word about Shakespeare. On another occasion Beaumont in a second epistle to B.J. refers to Shakespeare but no mention is there made of the Mermaid meetings. The relevant passage reads as follows:

> ". . . heere I would let slippe
> (If I had any in mee) Schollershippe,
> And from all Learninge keepe these lines as (cl)eere
> as Shakespeares best are, which our heires shall heare

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[1] Thomas Heywood observes:
> "The Gentry to the *Kings Head*
> The Nobles to the *Crown*,
> The Knights unto the *Golden Fleece*
> And to the *Plough*, the clown.

> Preachers aft to their auditors to showe
> how farr sometimes a mortall man may goe
> by the dimme light of Nature."[1]

These visits of Shakespeare to taverns may or may not be regular but with his penetrating eye Shakespeare would certainly study the habits of the visitors there. Sidney Lee thus asserts that "The creator of Falstaff could have been no stranger to tavern life, and he (Shakespeare) doubtless took part with zest in the convivialities of men of letters."[2]

Thus there is no denial of the fact that Shakespeare has depicted Tavern Scenes most faithfully and in the absence of any direct evidence to show his connection with any tavern whatsoever, we should have certainly to rely upon Thomas Fuller's "Many were the wit Combates." We cannot reject this as a mere tradition, in fact, it is something more important than the same. It is a late reference so far as Shakespeare is concerned but not so with respect to Jonson.

Shakespeare was not an extraordinary man in his habits and hobbies. There is absolutely no record to show, that he ever lived a life which did not follow the customs of the day. Besides he produced the best tavern scenes and tradition connects him with the Mermaid Tavern where his friend Jonson was instructing the young entrants aspiring after poetic fame in the arts of playwriting and verse-composing.[3]

If we consider these points simultaneously, we have no alternative but to admit Shakespeare's connection with the Mermaid Tavern.

But what was the part taken by Shakespeare in these Tavern meetings? In the 'Wit Combates' he defeated the classic-scholar, the central figure of the gathering, namely Jonson. It is perfectly natural, then, that Shakespeare would have gathered his own satellites to form a school, but this he never did. The only explanation, which the present writer can offer to this query, is that Shakespeare, if he ever joined the Mermaid meetings, went to the tavern to learn and not to attract the young band of poets and playwrights and utilised his whole leisure in studying the characters of the frequenters there. The ‘ Wit combates ’ were incidental and the greatest poet of human passion took scrupulous care not to disclose his to the members assembled there.

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[1] This occurs in a recently discovered document supposed to be of 1615. It is found in two manuscripts, one initialled F. B. (Francis Beaumont) and another R. B. The former is in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan, in New York, while the latter one has been preserved in the British Museum. Sir E. K. Chambers authoritatively asserts that it was written by Francis Beaumont. See Chambers, *Life of William Shakepeare*, Vol. II, pp. 222-24.

[2] Lee, *William Shakespeare*, p. 177.

[3] Of course much later Jonson was the oracle in the Apollo Room of the Devil Tavern and instructed his 'sons' in the art of dramatic poetry.

(To be continued.)

SOME ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE BIHAR CONGRESS GOVERNMENT

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OUR great National All-India organisation has all along been subject to various kinds of criticism. One of these to which no satisfactory reply could be given in the past was that the Congress was, more or less, an organisation of the intelligent, educated middle class, that it had little, if any, concern with the masses who did not join it as they never cared for politics. To-day the Congress members are more than 45 lakhs in number. These figures are, however, in a sense misleading for they give us only the number of those who have paid their subscriptions and joined the organisation formally, I am quite certain that those who sympathise with Congress ideals and whole-heartedly co-operate with the Congress in implementing its programme are many times this number. Where is the man who is bold enough to say to-day that the Congress is an organisation of the middle class or of the rich ? Is there any one in India foolish enough to suggest that all or nearly all these 45 lakhs belong to the middle classes ?

No political organisation can claim to be truly representative unless it contains within it members drawn from every social, economic and religious group. This proud distinction justly belongs to the Congress. If we have kishans and mazdoors, clerks and teachers, lawyers and politicians, we have also bankers, industrialists and businessmen worth crores of rupees. Similarly, we have also representatives of every religious faith professed in India, Hindu and Muslim, Christian and Sikh, Zoroastrian and Buddhist. The one thing common to all congressmen is the genuine desire to benefit and serve the masses. This utter negation of self, this ardent desire to serve the brother Indian is so great that the cost involved is never taken into account.

Commencing from our great leader Mahatma Gandhi who cheerfully gave up a most lucrative practice in South Africa, we find Pandit Motilal Nehru's son our beloved Jawaharlal and his whole family sacrificing immense wealth on behalf of the national cause. Other instances in point are Shankerlal Banker, Jamnalal Bajaj, our Chitta Ranjan Das, the young Muslim Umar Sobhain one of the richest men in Bombay, the celebrated Dr. Ansari, the famous Hakim Ajmal Khan. Who does not know the immense sacrifices of Rajendra Prasad, of Rajagopalachariar, of Pant, of Kher, and of Sinha the Premiers of the different Congress provinces? The list could be added to almost indefinitely. These men have given up their all and have gladly exchanged comfort or rather luxury for coarse Khaddar and a life spent in incessant labour and continuous sacrifice for our country's masses. Mahatma Gandhi, our All-India national leader, has fixed his home in a village near Wardha and I feel that he has done so because he is desirous of daily experiencing himself those difficulties which are being undergone by our rural brethren. I would not be surprised if, at long last, it is found that his enthusiasm for rural work finds its best inspiration in the disadvantages from which he suffers in his village home.

It is true enough that the leaders who are guiding the destinies of India do not themselves come from the masses. All of them are educated and some are wealthy. But the question which concerns us is whether they have identified themselves fully with the masses and also whether they are doing everything which lies in their power to benefit them. It has been my privilege more than once to prove this by the help of irrefutable facts and figures that that is what they are actually doing all over India including the province of Bihar.

(In this article it is my intention to place before my readers my ideas of what the Congress cabinet has done for Bihar. It would not be true for me to say that I have personal knowledge of every one of these ameliorative measures. My information is drawn to some extent from the communiques published in the papers from time to time. I have also a home of my own in Bihar, have visited some parts of the province and seen many of the things referred to with my own eyes. I am aware that I have missed many important things and that what I shall put before my readers cannot but be a incomplete list of all the good work done by the Congress ministry.) Not only ignorance but want of space are responsible for this.

My contention is that the work of the Bihar Congress is merely a sample of what has seen attempted by the Congress ministries in all parts of India, for all these Governments were seeking to put through, of course with slight modifications demanded by local conditions, one uniform plan aimed at benefiting our masses. If I succeed in convincing my readers that the Bihar Government did everything which lay in its power to help our poor and ignorant brethren, I have proved, though indirectly, that the other Congress Governments were doing the same thing.

AGRARIAN LEGISLATION

In Bihar, a raiyat who cultivates land in a village for 12 years becomes a settled raiyat of that village. Every settled raiyat acquires occupancy rights which are heritable without payment of any premium to the landlord and also transferable subject to payment of landlord's fee amounting to 8 per cent. of the consideration money. An occupancy raiyat cannot be ejected from the holding for non-payment of rent. He is entitled to dig wells or tanks in his holding, to erect a house on it, to make bricks for such house or well or tank and to plant and cut trees on it.

Among other things, the new act provides for (*i*) the cancellation of all enhancements between January, 1911 and December, 1936 ; (*ii*) total or partial remission of rent in cases where the soil has deteriorated by deposit of sand or submersion under water or where the landlord had neglected the irrigation arrangements which he is bound to maintain ; (*iii*) reduction of rent where there has been a fall in the average local prices of staple food crops (not due to a temporary cause) during the currency of the present rent; and (*iv*) settlement of fair rent in other suitable cases.

Formerly, a raiyat's entire holding was sold in most cases for nominal prices. Now only that part of the holding will be sold which is, in the opinion of the court, sufficient to satisfy the decree. The raiyat has now been given complete immunity against arrest and detention in civil prison in execution of a decree for rent. Even his house and movables cannot be attached and sold in execution of such decrees ; illegal exactions by landlords or their agents have been made a penal offence punishable with imprisonment which may extend to six months or with fine which may extend to Rs. 500 or with both.

On account of the economic depression which began in 1929 many raiyats were unable to pay the rents of their holdings with the result that many holdings were sold for arrears of rent and purchased by the landlords, in most cases, for nominal prices. To remedy this, the

Bihar Restoration of Bakasht Lands and Reduction of Arrears of Rent was enacted. This Act deals with two matters, namely, (*i*) restoration of lands which had been sold in execution of decrees for arrears of rent during the depression and (*ii*) reduction of arrears which had accumulated during the said period..

Organisation of Sugar Industry

The sugar industry has developed very rapidly in recent years and large numbers of sugar factories have sprung up in Bihar. The cultivation of sugarcane has also increased by leaps and bounds. As the result of this, the factories commenced to take undue advantage of the extensive cultivation of cane and the helplessness of the cane-growers. The Bihar Sugar Factories Control Act, 1937, was passed with a view to ensuring the progress of the industry on sound lines both in the interest of the grower and of the industry as a whole. The new Act provides for the licensing of sugar factories, regulation of the supply of cane and development of cane cultivation in factory "zones," the encouragement of cane growers, the organisation of co-operative societies and the elimination of cut-throat competition between factories, besides fixation of minimum price for sugarcane and the establishment of a Sugar Control Board and Advisory Committees. As the result of this piece of legislation, a fair price is ensured both to growers and manufacturers. It has to be stated in this connection that the attempt to fix the minimum price of an agricultural product grown over millions of acres was undertaken by the Bihar and U. P. Congress Governments jointly and also that it has met with unprecedented success.

Relief to Debtors

It was pointed out by the Provincial Banking Committees of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa when the last two provinces were under one Government that about the year 1929 when these enquiries were held the population of Bengal was 50 per cent. more than the population of Bihar and Orissa but that the burden of debt of Bihar and Orissa was 50 per cent. more than Bengal. It is true that since the inauguration of provincial autonomy, Orissa has been separated from Bihar but this has made no difference so far as the burden of debt is concerned. It has been stated authoritatively that 90 per cent. of the population of

Bihar are deeply in debt and that, for all practical purposes, they are living in a perpetual state of bankruptcy.

The Bihar Money-Lenders' Act is designed to give relief to debtors by regulating money-lending within the province. Provision has been made for the registration of money-lenders who are bound to maintain proper accounts and give receipt to their debtors for all payments made. No one who is not a registered money-lender can institute any suit for the recovery of his dues from the debtor. The rates of interest have been fixed at not more than 9 per cent. per annum in the case of secured and 12 per cent. per annum in the case of unsecured loans. But in no case can a decree on account of interest be passed for an amount which exceeds the principal advanced.

PROHIBITION

Like all Congress Governments, the Bihar Government was committed to the policy of prohibition of alcoholic beverages and narcotics. Prohibition was introduced in the district of Saran with effect from the 1st April, 1939. This has an area of nearly 2,700 square miles and a population of nearly 25 lakhs. In pursuance of its policy, the Bihar Government did not renew the licenses of excise shops in this district. In other words, about 2150 licenses were cancelled which caused a loss in the revenue amounting to about Rs. 10 lakhs. Government had also to think about the 5,000 odd people who were engaged in the business of supplying these articles. Many of them have been given land in Khas Mahal areas which they are cultivating thus leading better lives than in the past. After April, 1939, the Bihar Government extended prohibition to two other districts in the province, *viz.*, Ranchi and Hazaribagh. Between them, the total area of these two districts is 14,123 square miles and the population is approximately 31 lakhs. It is understood that with prohibition in three districts the loss of revenue will be between 18 and 20 lakhs every year.

From the reports received from the officers in charge of these districts, it appears that prohibition is welcomed by all classes of people. Even the addicts express satisfaction that abstinence from drink has been made compulsory for, according to many of them, without it, they would never have found it possible to give up their evil habits. The women and children have hailed this move on the part of the Bihar Government with delight for the earnings are not wasted and therefore more money is available for food, clothing and the other necessaries of life.

It is to be noted that in all these areas, the people benefited have almost universally been the poorer people specially of the cultivator class. No one can deny that by the sacrifice of such a large amount of revenue, the Bihar Government undoubtedly proved its love for the masses.

IMPOSITION OF NEW TAXES

In order to find more money for nation-building activities and improving the condition of the rural masses, Government imposed some new taxes. Of these fiscal measures, the most important is the Bihar Agricultural Income-tax Act. Next in importance are the Bihar Stamp (Amendment) Act and the Bihar Entertainments Duty Acts. The taxes which have been imposed by these measures will affect only the well-off and will not touch the poorer classes. Under the Agricultural Income-tax Act, petty landlords and the smaller cultivators have been left untouched; incomes below rupees five thousand having been exempted from the tax. The Bihar Stamp (Amendment) Act enhances the rate of stamp duty on certain instruments, etc., so as to bring in an increased annual revenue. The Bihar Entertainments Duty Act empowers the levy of a tax on all payments received for admission to places of public entertainment. Government saw no reason why those who derived large or relatively large incomes from agriculture should not pay tax on those incomes or why those who spent money on entertainments should not contribute something towards the revenues of the State.

THE ANTI-ILLITERACY CAMPAIGN IN BIHAR

According to the last census, the province of Bihar, so far as literacy is concerned, stands lowest. The percentage of literacy for the different provinces is as follows:—Bengal—11; Madras—11·8; Bombay—10·2; Assam—9·1; C. P.—6; Punjab—5·9; Bihar—5·2. Recognising the seriousness of this menace, the Hon'ble Dr. Syed Mahmud, Minister of Education, started the Mass Literacy movement towards the end of April, 1938. It is noteworthy that the Minister of Education succeeded in infecting thousands of our countrymen with the passion of doing this great nation-building work without which the phenomenal success referred to below could not have been achieved.

The Mass Literacy Committee recruited and trained thousands of honorary workers, printed special charts and primers for illiterate adults and organised literacy centres in every part of the province. Professors and teachers arranged lantern lectures on useful and interesting subjects to supplement the ordinary instruction imparted at these centres. Funds for contingent expenditure were collected by local subscriptions and, in some cases, grants were made by local bodies. The text of the primers and charts which are in Hindusthani were printed in Nagri and Urdu scripts the result being that, in a large number of literacy centres, many Hindus and Moslems have learnt both these scripts.

Literacy work was organised in jails. Arrangements were made to make all police and choukidars literate within six months or so. Industrial concerns were also persuaded to join the movement. While the main agency for instruction consists of the honorary labour of teachers, students, unemployed youngmen and social workers, provision was made for the payment of a small honorarium of five annas per each adult male literate. Small grants in-aid were also made to meet the cost of contingent expenditure. To ensure lasting literacy, a carefully graduated series of readers was prepared and provision made for the publication of a fortnightly in Hindusthani printed in Nagri and Urdu scripts. It is expected that, if the intensity of the movement is maintained, it may be possible to banish illiteracy from Bihar in about 10 years. It has been stated that within four months of starting the campaign, over 3 lakhs of adults were made literate.

There are four types of schools for adults:—(1) Organisations which do not seek grants from Government. These include the Tata Company, sugar mills, collieries and other industrial concerns. (2) Private organisations such as churches, clubs of women and other public associations. (3) Colleges and High schools which offer facilities to their students to take part in this campaign in the evenings, on Saturdays and during vacations. (4) Permanent centres where teachers in addition to their work during the day, engage in teaching at night. It was estimated in May, 1939, that these were more than eleven thousand night schools for adults with an enrolment of nearly three lakhs. This is in addition to an equal number previously made literate. According to a recent communique, all the police constables in Bihar have been made literate while out of 48,000 chaukidars, 22,000 have already learnt to read and write.

Probably the most interesting feature of the movement is that it has also spread in the jails. A literacy campaign was started in the Gaya Jail in July, 1938, with the result that practically every illiterate prisoner has become literate while many of them have gone up to the fifth standard in one year. At the Bhagalpur Central Jail, about 6,200 male and female prisoners have learnt to read and write in the course of a single year. (The expansion of literacy among women is progressing steadily. The Bihar Council of Women has given a great impetus to the movement and has appealed to other women organisations for help and co-operation.)

The literacy campaign was begun at Jamshedpur by the Tata Iron and Steel Company in July 19, 1938. There are now about seventy centres here with an enrolment of nearly 3,600 adults of whom about 20 per cent. are women. According to the statement of the General Manager of this company, it is probable that, at the present rate of progress, Jamshedpur will be literate in about five years.

The campaign which was originally started on a purely voluntary basis, has now been placed on a permanent footing. In 1939, the Bihar Government gave a grant of Rs. 80,000 but last year it was increased to 2 lakhs and then it went out of power.

As an educationist with more than 40 years' experience of teaching work behind me, I offer my congratulations to the Bihar Government for the ability with which the ministers organised this campaign, the ease with which they secured the loyal co-operation of the volunteer workers, the thoroughness with which they did the work and the success which has crowned their efforts. (Bihar, the most backward of provinces in India so far as literacy is concerned, is now the acknowledged leader in this work in India in just the same way as Madras, notorious for its drunkenness, is the leader in the prohibition movement.) All honour to those of our leaders who, undeterred by the serious difficulties which stood in their way, boldly faced and successfully solved these two great problems.

Even non-Indians who have watched the mass literacy campaign at close quarters have been filled with admiration and realised its importance. This is evident from what Dr. Laubach that world-famous specialist on adult education, says on this matter. He observed, " The significance of the Bihar campaign is hardly to be exaggerated. If it turns out to be a signal success as it promises to do, all India will be encouraged. If it should fail, all similar campaigns now afoot would be affected and perhaps killed. Since India has one-third of all the illiterates in the world, the success of Bihar would probably mean the start of the most titanic educational movement of all times. More than one-half of the human race are still illiterate. India is now awake and full of faith that the task can be accomplished."

After all this, dare even the worst enemy of the Indian National Congress suggest that it does not take any genuine interest in the welfare of the masses? Surely they must admit that this is the last charge that can justly be brought against the Congress Ministers.

MINISTERS' SALARIES

Of the acts falling under this group, those worth mentioning are the acts fixing the salaries of ministers, the officers and members of the legislatures. The salary which the ministers, under the old constitution, used to draw was Rs. 48,000 each per annum. Even under the new constitution of 1935, before the advent of the Congress Government, the salary which the interim Premier used to draw was Rs. 24,000 per year and the salary of each of the other interim ministers was Rs. 18,000 per annum. Following their ideal of economy and national service, the Congress cabinet, voluntarily fixed for themselves a salary of only Rs. 6,000 each per year. In this respect, no distinction has been made between the Prime Minister and the other ministers.

This compares very favourably with what we find to-day in the two non-congress provinces of Bengal and the Punjab. According to the monthly published by the U. P. Government and known as "Public Information," the amount spent out of the taxes for each minister of Bengal is Rs. 37,508 per year while the amount spent every year for each minister of the Punjab is Rs. 45,755.

Similarly, the salaries of the Speaker of the Bihar Assembly and of the President of the Bihar Council have also been fixed at Rs. 6,000 per year. In this connection we have to remember that the President of the old Legislative Council used to draw a salary of Rs. 24,000 a year. In so far as the daily and travelling allowances of members of the legislatures are concerned, each of them used formerly to draw a daily allowance of Rs. 10 and first-class travelling. By the "Members' Salaries and Allowances Act 1938," each of the members of the legislatures has been given a salary of Rs. 900 per year, only second-class travelling allowance and a daily allowance of Rs. 3 during the session of the legislature. These measures alone are expected to effect a saving of thousands of rupees annually. It seems to me that this one fact alone is sufficient to prove the great concern felt for the masses by the Congress leaders who are willing to work on a basis of sacrifice in order to effect economies so that more money might be available for helping the poor people.

THE RATIONAL OUTLOOK

A question which presents itself to almost every thinking man is what exactly is the nature and the amount of the beneficent work accomplished or proposed to have been accomplished by the different provincial Governments which came into power after the introduction of provincial autonomy under the Government of India Act, 1935. Just as there are nationalists in every part of India, so also there are various parties and groups which either openly proclaim or indirectly suggest that though large promises were made by politicians or by political parties, they have not been fulfilled. This type of criticism was levelled specially against the different Congress Governments.

It is known to every one that, till the other day, the Congress was in charge of the work of administration in seven provinces, that it formed a Congress-Coalition Government in another province and that in only three out of the eleven provinces of British India did we have non-Congress Governments. What, one may well ask, is the reason why the Congress which, only the other day, was a proscribed organisation, achieved such wonderful success at the polls? The answer to this lies in the fact that though in the past the Indian National Congress was composed of the educated middle classes and of some of the more well-to-do Indian businessmen, mill-owners, bankers, etc., it is no longer the exclusive body it was at one time. Under the influence and guidance of Mahatma Gandhi, it has succeeded in drawing within its ranks, agricultural and industrial labour as well as members of the lower middle classes. Nowhere is this seen on a larger scale than in the province of Bihar where kishan organisations played so important a part in shaping the policy of public administration.

It is quite true that before the Congress came into power, many of our poorer and less educated brethren imagined that they would have a new heaven and new earth as soon as the work of administration was taken up by our national organisation. They quite naturally felt disappointed because the high hopes they had entertained were not fulfilled. I would ask all to consider the amount of progress achieved in India during the time that the administration of our motherland was in the hands of the British Government and then to pass their judgment on the work done by different Congress ministries. No fair-minded man will deny that the British Government has done much for us but, at the same time, we should not forget that the progress we see to-day was achieved during a period extending to nearly two centuries.

The Congress Governments, on the other hand, were in power for a little over two years. All along they had been in the opposition and their only work had consisted in criticising the doings, good, bad and indifferent, of our rulers. I question whether a single man among the present leaders had any experience of the work of administration. On coming into power they had, first of all, to familiarise themselves with the routine work of daily administration and to study each problem many of them unfamiliar in all its bearings. It is true that they have been receiving the willing and loyal co-operation of the permanent staff which probably is the best possible proof of that sense of discipline which lies at the root of the success of the British as administrators in every sphere of life.

It is only recently that, after mastering all these details, the ministers in the different Congress provinces were initiating new legislation and adopting new policies. It should be noted that a majority of these measures aim at the benefit of the masses for, under the guidance of Mahatma Gandhi, all genuine Congressmen have realised that the improvement and prosperity of India ultimately depend on the educational, social and economic uplift of all her children and not on the well-being of only the rich and the educated among them. I admit that much remains to be done in this direction but, at the same time, I am constrained to point out that much was done within the two years or so that the Congress was in power. We should all remember that the members of the different Congress cabinets are human beings with limited powers and not magicians who can do in the twinkling of an eye what n ordinary man takes months and years to accomplish. I contend that taking into account the difficulties which had to be overcome, the progress achieved within the short period when they were in office is quite satisfactory and I would request every genuine lover of India and of the cause of nationalism to trust our leaders and to give them time in which to carry to a successful issue the task they have set themselves. As it is, they have a sufficiently heavy burden to carry. It is not therefore wise to add to their difficulties by ungracious and very often unjust and bitter criticism the only effect of which is to embarass them and to curtail their usefulness as willing, cheerful and unselfish servants of our motherland and her children.

PSYCHOLOGY OF THE NEW EDUCATION MOVEMENT

J. M. Sen
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MANY, if not most, schools are in a state of transition. Few teachers are willing to conceive of the curriculum or of the aim of the school exclusively in terms of isolated subjects, formally organised and administered in small prescribed doses to reluctant pupils. On the other hand, few schools have yet been able to bring about a *perfect correlation* of the curriculum and the pupils' growing stream of life experiences.

Changes in procedure are the result of changed points of view as to aims and functions. These latter changes are usually gradual, while modifications in procedures tend to lag behind the acceptance of new points of view. One should not expect or wish for fundamental wholesale changes in school procedures overnight. There is a real danger that elementary education shall make apparent headway too rapidly. If teachers see only the outward forms and miss the inner spirit of the "new education," much will be lost. If teachers are made to feel that they must exhibit evidences of "activities" without being primarily concerned with the growth of their pupils, we shall merely have "old wine in new bottles." The teacher's point of view is of first importance. We cannot over-emphasize this significant fact. The most important constructive force in the world is education, and both elementary and secondary education are fundamental phases of schooling. The most important factor in the school is the teacher, and the fact of supreme significance about the teacher is his philosophy of life and of education.

Improvement in school practice, therefore, implies, first of all, gradual acceptance of newer conceptions of the meaning of education, and a sane effort to grow progressively in the application of the newer principles. Modifications of administrative relationships, of teaching technique, and of buildings and equipment grow out of changed points of view as the values of new procedures are made evident through actual trial.

Certain cautions and specific applications of the principles enumerated should be given. First, let it be emphatically stated that freedom in education does not mean " letting children do as they please." It means helping them to please to do better things. Oftentimes it is not only cruel but morally wrong to allow children to suffer the consequences of their own actions. Freedom, however, does not imply many opportunities for choosing and for making decisions, in situations of significance to the pupils, and with kindly counsel at hand. Learning based upon interest, rightly conceived, is not pampering but the only effective means to true educative effort. There is no growth without freedom ; but freedom must be earned. Freedom is a *relative* matter, to be progressively achieved.

What of discipline ? The opinion here expressed conceives of discipline as intimately related to the whole school programme. The school's fundamental aim is to provide situations in which children may learn and practice desirable forms of conduct. Every phase of school activity should contribute to the acquisition of new and more appropriate modes of behaviour. Provision for this is at the same time discipline, teaching and character building. From an educative standpoint, *discipline is the positive, constructive process of building habits and attitudes of conduct* and not restrictive repression of normal activity of the pupil in order to satisfy traditional standards of routine. Obviously pupils cannot always do just as they please. Teacher-control can be withdrawn only as habits of self-control are developed. On the other hand, it is unwise for the teacher to deprive pupils of legitimate opportunities to make their own decisions and to act on their own responsibility. Nothing is more debasing than the use of coercion when an appeal to self-respect or to a sense of social responsibility would accomplish the same end.

The new education movement recognizes that activity is not merely an end in itself, but a means to growth. It is not enough that children be active ; the activity must be to some purpose—controlled, directed activity. Nor is it sufficient that children be physically active only. Their fondness for dramatization, construction, manipulation and imitation should be encouraged. At the same time they should be stimulated and helped to see relationships, to understand significances, to gain insight in regard to their many " doings." Mental and physical activity should be closely correlated ; adequate time must be provided for both. Mental play is as important as physical play, and requires stimulation and guidance.

Exhibits of children's work have a universal appeal ; yet they reveal little regarding the educative value of the activity which produced them. *They show what happened to the materials used, but not what happened to the children.* Nearly perfect exhibitions may result from teacher-dominated activity which has had slight influence on the growth of the pupils. A product, comparatively crude, judged by adult standards, may be the result of substantial pupil growth. Did the pupil set himself a harder task than ever before ? Did he plan more wisely? Did he persist more tenaciously in the face of difficulties ? Did he work more skilfully and effectively ? Did the result bring satisfaction and self-confidence, and a desire to go on to more and greater achievements ? These are the questions we should ask in judging the educative values of any activity. Results are important, both within and without the school's walls, but from the educational standpoint they must be evaluated in terms of the pupils' present abilities and their growth producing possibilities.

This is not the place for a detailed consideration of school marks, tests, grades and promotions, but since they so profoundly affect the school's work it is imperative that they should be in accord with the fundamental principles mentioned in the previous paragraph. It is apparent that they have some value in so far as they further the continuous, full development of children, and that they become pernicious whenever they interfere with the attainment of the school's basic purpose?

One of the most significant conditions of modern life is that people are having to work more and more together. In the home, the political, or the business world, one is constantly confronted with the need to carry on enterprises and work out solutions to problems with other people This fact breeds an insistent demand for the abilities involved in real co-operation. Success in such co-operative enterprises involves the practice of habits of willing sharing of responsibility, intelligent tolerance of others' ideas, appreciation of others' abilities and contributions, and helpfulness. Thus whole-hearted effort expended by a number of pupils working together upon the same activity builds gradually many attitudes and habits which make for genuine citizenship. The teacher helps them through hints to realize the need for these and to develop a co-operative group spirit. In co-operative work the following qualities are developed :—

(*i*) Consulting the group and accepting the decisions upon problems pertaining to the group.
(*ii*) Helping others to help themselves.
(*iii*) Feeling responsible for a definite part in a group activity.
(*iv*) Judging accurately of one's own and others' work.
(*v*) Appreciating the abilities of different members of the group.
(*vi*) Desiring every one to work in harmony.

A thorough analysis of all activities to be used is necessary to insure a choice of those richest in meaningful experiences. The teacher must know what possibilities for growth are inherent in a proposed enterprise and whether or not his pupils have advanced to that stage of development which will enable them to make use of these possibilities. Such an analysis cannot be made once and for all times. The fact that life is constantly changing means that those situations in which pupils will learn about life in order to adapt themselves to its conditions will constantly change also. Moreover every group of pupils differs from every other in its process of development. At any given time, no two groups are alike in backgrounds, capacities, interests and needs.

The values inherent in any activity depend upon three things, *viz.*, (*i*) its possibilities for producing learning situations like those the pupil meets outside the school, (*ii*) its possibilities of leading pupils to newer, larger, more challenging experiences, and (*iii*) the previous experiences and capacities for growth of the pupils who are to undertake it. An activity, for instance, which would be " large in scope " and " rich in possibilities of growth " for the Kindergarten child of limited experience or the first-grade child who is immature mentally, might not challenge to his level of effort a first-grade child who had had rich previous opportunities and who was mentally mature. Whether or not an activity will provide the desired learning situations must then be determined anew for each group of children concerned. Thus the " activity programme " cannot be a cut and dried course of study to be carried out through an inflexible school organisation. It must be a changing, growing plan, adapting itself to changing conditions and differing needs of the pupils. Herein lies its challenge. Through it the programme of teaching and learning becomes a stimulating adventure. To insure right adaptation, each activity undertaken will need to be constantly checked according to certain carefully chosen principles which have been tested and which will insure to pupils some rich worthwhile experiences. These principles should apply to the selection of activities on each level of development of pupils in elementary and secondary schools.

In a world which changes as rapidly as that in which we live, the school or the college cannot complacently perpetuate the practices of an earlier period. An institution so inherently social as the secondary school or college cannot to any degree remain aloof from the surging life of its time. It is not for teachers to live in a house by the side of the road while the race of men go by. Ours is the joy of studying not only pupils and their growth but also the thrilling life of our times in its infinite aspects, in order that the growth of all students may be closely directed. In these efforts may we keep our vision clear ! May we value, above all else, abundant life, for our pupils and ourselves !

LORD AUCKLAND ON DELHI

DR. S. N. SEN, M.A., PH.D., B.LITT. (OXON.)

LORD Auckland has left an unhappy record in India. He ruined his reputation for good when he sent a futile expedition to Afghanistan that ended in disgrace and disaster. Success alone might have justified unprovoked aggression but no apology can be offered for a fruitless war. Yet in fairness to him we should not forget that Lord Auckland was not the real author of his foreign policy. The portfolio of foreign affairs at home was held by that masterful person, Lord Palmerston, and the Whig ministers of Queen Victoria expected the Governor General to be an unquestioning instrument of their anti-Russian measures. Though a misfit in times of war, there is reason to believe that Lord Auckland, if left to himself, might have proved an excellent administrator in times of peace. His minute on Delhi, dated Karnul, the 7th March 1838, bears ample testimony to Lord Auckland's solicitude for the welfare of the people he was called upon to govern. This alone would offer some justification for reproducing *in extenso* this interesting document which incidentally goes a long way to prove that Lord Auckland was prepared to do everything possible for the economic, civic and intellectual improvement of the Imperial City.

It is no wonder that the Governor General should give the problem of defence a place of precedence. In 1838 the Sutlej marked the north-western boundary of British India and Delhi formed an advanced military post of great strategical value. Nor could its political importance be safely ignored, for a titular emperor, a descendant of Akbar and Aurangzeb, still held his court in Shahjahan's palace, and though shorn of power and prestige he still commanded the reverence, if not the allegiance, of many citizens of light and leading. In 1804 the Maratha hordes of Jaswant Rao Holkar were repulsed from the outskirts of Delhi by the prowess of Sir David Ochterlony and we are told that "many lakhs have since been laid out in its defences. These defences consist of a high wall enclosing a circumference of nearly seven miles, with Martello Towers at long intervals and bastions at the seven gates." Lord Auckland had no illusion about the utility of these extensive ramparts against a well-equipped force in a major war. But he thought it would be false economy to leave it unfinished when only one-seventh of the work originally contemplated remained to be done. He appreciated the value of the city walls for the maintenance of peace and order in normal times but he held that the money would have been better invested in "a citadel of much smaller proportions strongly fortified capable of being occupied by an inconsiderable garrison." The Mutiny proved twenty years later how sound his judgement was.

The problems of defence naturally turned Lord Auckland's attention to the Jumna. The Jumna had receded from its former bed immediately below the ramparts of Shahjahan's fort and the Governor General suggested that steps should be taken to divert the river to its original course by means of fresh embankments so that it might add to the "strength, beauty and the cleanliness of the town."

It was left for Lord Curzon to enunciate a comprehensive policy and to organise a new department for the restoration and preservation of the ancient monuments of India. But it is no small credit to Lord Auckland that he evinced similar interest in the magnificent ruins in which Delhi and its environs abound. He particularly urged Captain George Thomson, Executive Engineer of Delhi, to take special care for the preservation of the Kutb Minar and the remains of the stately mosques and tombs in its immediate neighbourhood.

Lord Auckland was a professed Whig and shared the liberal principles of his party. Although anxious to add as much as possible to the amenities of civic life he held that such improvements though inspired by officials should in general be carried out by private contributions. "Far less," he observes, "has certainly been accomplished in this manner at Delhi than might have been effected, and it is melancholy to find in this climate aqueducts crumbling into decay, sewers and drains choked up, and roads in many places with difficulty passable when by a very limited outlay all might have been maintained." He suggested that the Executive Engineer should be called upon to submit a report on the ancient aqueducts and drains of the city and an estimate of the expense for their repair and restoration. The Governor General also recommended that the waste lands belonging to the Government or to the titular king might profitably be let out on lease for residential purposes. "The demand for land," he writes, "within the walls is every day increasing, and as these lands or ancient gardens may be appropriated to building, it should be done upon some consistent plan so that consideration may be given to objects of health and convenience and police and even to beauty and symmetry of architecture." Lovers of old Mughal gardens may sincerely deplore the appropriation of those beauty spots for residential purposes, and Lord Curzon's government would doubtless have taken suitable measures for their preservation and upkeep had they survived to our times, but otherwise it will be difficult to take exception to the general principle laid down by Lord Auckland that the new buildings of the city should not be out of harmony with their environments and while provision should be made for the proper policing of the new suburbs, the aesthetic sense of the residents should not be unnecessarily offended. In fact no modern city architect could wish anything better.

The Governor General next dealt with the waste lands outside the city walls and suggests that much of the waste lands to the south of the city could be reclaimed and brought under cultivation without any risk to the interesting remains of antiquity. He was of opinion that the waste lands could profitably be leased out to intending cultivators without any rent for a term of twenty years or more. In this connection he emphasised the need of co-operation between the Magistrate and the inhabitants of Delhi for the general improvement of the city. "I have already remarked," he goes on to say, "that the success of projected improvements in the avenues of towns or in other local arrangements must very mainly depend upon the co-operation of the leading inhabitants and upon the personal exertions of the Magistracy, and I know also that there is too prevalent a feeling that the indifference of the natives upon these subjects is not to be overcome, and that it is idle to contend with it. I am far from acquiescing in this opinion, on the contrary I believe it not to be difficult to direct the love of popular regard and the liberality which might waste itself in merely personal or temporary objects to works of public utility—a bridge, a school, a road, an aqueduct, or a tank; but to do this there must be conciliation and intercourse and mutual good will and confidence." It is superfluous to add that Lord Auckland's expectations have been more than justified in recent times, and he was perfectly right when he laid down that the proof of a Magistrate's worth or lack of it is to be found in the measure of co-operation that he can command from people of wealth and influence in works of public utility.

The police of Delhi met with Lord Auckland's approval but he was horrified with the primitive condition prevailing in the prison. But for the segregation of women prisoners "there was no pretence of classification of any kind but the prisoner convicted of heinous or of light crimes, the prisoner under examination, even the sick and the convalescent are all herded together except that the prisoners for life are in the most revolting manner chained to their cells either by the neck or by the leg, and not able to move beyond the range of their chains." The jail hospital was in able hands but, unlike those in other populous cities, did not administer to popular needs. The only well administered public institution was the Lunatic Asylum but it compared unfavourably with that of Benares. "Except to the insane, no public succour of any kind is given to the sick of this great city" and Lord Auckland suggested that a small dispensary should be established at an early date.

During his short stay at Delhi the Governor General visited two colleges that catered to the intellectual needs of the city in those days. The Oriental College was fairly well endowed by private munificence; the English institution, however, depended entirely on Government subvention, and it appears that at one time every student expected some sort of stipend or allowance. The Governor General speaks well of the English school although it was overstaffed and stood in need of a higher grade of tuition. In 1835 the system of general alimentary allowance was abolished and there was a marked fall in the roll strength of both the institutions.

The important question of canal irrigation also engaged the Governor General's attention and problem of draining the Najafgarh Jhil and using the water of the Ghaggar river for irrigation purposes was carefully considered. It may be noted that shortly after Lord Auckland penned his minute an outlet was provided for the waters of the extensive Najafgarh *Jhil* which covers many scores of square miles by means of a canal.

Lord Auckland concluded his minute with a brief note on the royal household. The family had its residence in the fort and consisted of four hundred princes and more numerous women. Most of these princes were ignorant and uneducated and spent their time in profligate idleness. Obviously something had to be done, for the future of the royal family looked gloomy in all conscience. Lord Auckland desired that some provision should be made for the education of the junior members of the royal family. Twenty years later the Mutiny sealed the fate of the titular emperor and his kinsmen and there were no room for the descendants of Babur in Shahjahan's fortified palace any longer.

Lord Auckland's survey embraced all the public institutions of Delhi and if he is judged by his intentions irrespective of his achievements he may rightly claim to be ranked with Lord Curzon and Lord Hardinge as one of the most sincere benefactors of the ancient metropolis of Hindustan.

MINUTE

1. Having passed some days at Delhi I am desirous of recording the points to which I think that the attention of the Government and of the Officers under the Government should be especially directed, and the more so as there are few places in India to which from size, position, and association more importance is to be attached, and because I have seen much which seemed to me to offer a larger field for improvement.

2. The Military importance of Delhi in the event of a new struggle being at any time forced upon the British Government for the possession of India, is sufficiently obvious. It contains the Magazines and the Munitions of war which are first in advance on our most open frontier. Its population from a sense of the decay of their great capital, and partly also from connection with the family of the ancient Dynasty, is supposed not to be well affected, and the presence of that family which the whole of the Mahomedan population yet regards with reverence, gives a political value to its occupation which would not otherwise belong to it. The gallant and the successful defence of the City against Holkar by Sir David Ochterlony in 1804, gave it something of military character and many lakhs have since been laid out in the improvement of its defences. These defences consist of a high wall enclosing a circumference of nearly seven miles, with Martello Towers at long intervals and bastions, at the seven gates. In front of the wall is a mud ditch, the approaches are tolerably clear, and a glacis has been nearly formed covering in height from two thirds to three fourths of the wall; against a superior and well-equipped and well directed force these defences would be most inefficient, and they are so extensive that a large force would be required sufficiently

to man them. Yet they would be strong against any popular movement or even against any native army, and they are completed with the exception of one bastion—of a few hundred yards of theglacis—of the removal of some mounds of earth on the river facing—and of the repair of another of the bastions the foundations of which have been undermined by the river—and guns for all the defences have been provided though with some inconsistency of arrangement all provision of gun carriages has been omitted. As therefore six sevenths of the work originally contemplated have been accomplished it would seem to be but bad economy to neglect this last fraction and Captain Thomson [1] might I think be authorised to proceed with the glacis and with the other works alluded to as he may have means at his disposal applicable to these objects. I should indeed as I have said in the event of any formidable Military struggle look for but little useful protection from these works, and I heartily regret that the money which has been expended upon them has not been applied to a citadel of much smaller proportions strongly fortified capable of being occupied by an inconsiderable garrison and covering whatever of public property it might be desirable to accumulate within such a work. For purposes however of police and if not against foreign war yet against any local or partial outrages and ebullitions of discontent, I consider the wall of Delhi to be very valuable, and I would not be understood as too much inclined to depreciate it. I am told that different schemes have been agitated for extending and improving these fortifications and although under such disadvantages as must attach to fortification around a city of so great a circuit; I am little inclined to favour any notion of this kind, yet having had my attention drawn to the subject, I should be glad to learn from Captain Thomson in a succinct report what plans of the nature are upon record, what are his own views in regard to them and what time would be spent and (approximately) what expense would be incurred in giving effect to any of them and in completing the equipment and mounting of the guns. For the prosecution of the works already sanctioned, or now to be carried on under the recommendation which I have before recorded, I would give to him all reasonable facilities in the labor of convicts, in the use of Commissariat bullocks, and other such available means.

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[1] Captain George Thomson (afterwards Lt. Colonel) was appointed commander of the Bengal sappers and miners at Delhi and executive engineer of the Delhi Division of the Public Works Department in March, 1837. Born in 1799 he joined the Bengal service as an engineer cadet in 1818. He served with distinction in the Burmese war and gave evidence of exceptional engineering skill constructing the Rohri-Bakkar bridge in 1839 when he was the Chief Engineer of the British expeditionary force in Afghanistan. He particularly distinguished himself in the capture of Ghazni. He retired from Indian service in 1841 and died in Dublin forty-five years later.—*Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. XIX, pp. 722-24.

3. I should also be glad, I may here say, to obtain from Captain Thomson any plans which may be in his office for raising an embankment, the effect of which shall be that of bringing the Jumna back into its ancient course immediately under the City face. The plan may be difficult of execution and may otherwise have objections, of which I am not aware, but materials are cheap, the proximity of the river would add as well to the strength as to the beauty and the cleanliness of the town, and the project is at least worth the trouble of enquiry.

4. My attention had previously to my visit to Delhi been directed by the Commander in Chief as well in private as in public communications, to the Corps of Sappers and Miners—and after local observation and enquiry, I entirely agree with His Excellency in opinion that this valuable corps ought not to be, as at present, stationed in the City of Delhi exposed to many temptations injurious to good discipline and with no facilities for good Military exercise—I am quite prepared therefore to acquiesce in the proposition which has been made for moving the lines of the Corps to the right of the present Military Cantonment, and for selling or applying to other useful purposes the ground which is occupied by the present lines, and this measure will, I should expect, be attended rather with profit than with loss to the Government.

5. I cannot also but agree with the Commander in Chief in thinking that sufficient attention has not been paid to this Corps, and that its efficiency has been in some degree impaired by the absence of nearly all its officers upon duties connected with the public works. No one can estimate more highly than I do the value of the services in this respect of our Engineer officers, or would more reluctantly withdraw them generally from a line of employment in which they are so exceedingly useful and so highly distinguished, yet I am ready to admit that sufficient care has not been taken either by myself or by those who preceded me to keep this regiment under the control and direction of European officers, and I shall be glad gradually to apply myself to the amendment which I think desirable in this part of its discipline, so that at least four or five of the junior officers should generally be present and contributing as well to their own experience of regimental duty as to the improvement of the men whom they may one day be called upon to lead in the most important operations. The Corps is

itself in some degree disheartened and labouring under disadvantage from the presence of supernumeraries to the amount of nearly 140, in consequence of which the course of promotion is unduly checked, and it is open to consideration whether the removal of this disadvantage may not be hastened by the discharge, or by the drafting into other Corps, of many of these supernumeraries. I have to recommend that early attention be given to this subject which is material to the efficiency of a valuable part of our Military Force.

6. It is but lately that this Corps has been placed under any consistency of direction by combining its command with the office of Executive Engineer of Delhi, and I anticipate great advantage from the efficiency of Captain G. Thomson who has been recently appointed to these united offices.[1] I think too that pains may with advantage be applied in a greater degree than has hitherto been the case to the instruction of the Sappers and Miners in accomplishments which may fit them for employment in the subordinate offices of the Public Works —I believe such instruction to be given to European Corps of this description, and I should be glad to see it extended to our Native Sappers.

7. Captain Thomson has been directed to complete the bridge over the Hindan[2] which was commenced by Captain De Bude,[3] and I have heard enough upon this bridge to make me anxious for a report upon it. I fear that from the ground upon which it was intended to rest not having been sufficiently examined, much of the work which has been will have to be removed and recommended.

8. The Kootub Minar and the very interesting remains of antiquity in the neighbourhood of that extraordinary column, are also under the care of Captain Thomson—and I cannot too strongly express my wish for its careful preservation and for an ostensible regard on the part of the Government for this as for any other similar monument of their past history to which the interest and respect of the native community must naturally be attached. I was pleased with the excellent condition in which I found this pillar, and I would request

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[1] Thomson himself thought otherwise and held that the duties of the two offices could not be conveniently combined. That was why he resigned in 1841.—*Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. XIX, pp. 722-24.

[2] Hindan, also called Chhaja in its upper course, rises in the Siwaliks in Saharanpur District and falls into the Jumna.—*Imperial Gazetteer of India.*

[3] Henry De Bude (1800-43) joined the Engineer's as a cadet in 1815. He was appointed Garrison and Executive Engineer at Delhi in April 1831. See Hodson's *Officers of the Bengal Army*.

Captain Thomson from time to time to inspect it and guard it from injury. Without also except after reference to the Government incurring any great expense I would authorize him to provide by the removal of rank vegetation and by diverting all accumulation of water that the effect of time upon what yet remains of the very curious buildings adjacent to the Miner should be as little destructive as possible, and I would particularly draw his attention to the Arches of two of the Gateways the key stones of which appear to be sinking and which might possibly by early attention be saved. I should be well disposed at once to sanction any not immoderate expense for this latter object.

9. It has also seemed to me that much good may be effected within the City of Delhi by the Executive Officers if assisted by an able and zealous Magistrate—I am not desirous that much should be done directly under the orders and at the expense of the Government for I am in this, as in other instances, inclined to wish that the charge and control of municipal improvement should be borne largely by the inhabitants of each City. Far less has certainly been accomplished in this manner at Delhi than might have been effected, and it is melancholy to find in this climate aqueducts crumbling into decay, sewers and drains choked up, and roads in many places with difficulty passable when by a very limited outlay all might have been maintained. I think that Captain Thomson should be called upon for a report upon the ancient aqueducts and drains of the City, and for a general estimate of the expense at which each may be repaired and made effective, I could wish too to obtain from him a report upon the waste ground within the city which is the property of the Government or over the disposition of which as property of the King the Government may exercise some influence. The demand for land within the walls is every day increasing, and as these lands or ancient gardens may be appropriated to building, it should be done upon some consistent plan so that consideration may be given to objects of health and convenience and police and even to beauty and symmetry of architecture.

10. Outside of the walls I have been led to believe that without injuring and of the most interesting remains of antiquity, much of the immense plain of rain and desolation which extends to the south of the town would be gradually reclaimed and brought into cultivation if it were tendered to occupiers free of rent for a term of twenty or more years, and I am desirous that the

Commissioner should be authorised after further consultation on the precise terms to be fixed with the Board of Revenue, to try this experiment. I have already remarked that the success of protected improvements in the avenues of towns or in other local arrangements must very mainly depend upon the co-operation of the leading inhabitants and upon the personal exertion of the Magistracy, and I know also that there is too prevalent a feeling that the difference of the natives upon these subjects is not to be overcome, and that it is idle to contend with it. I am far from acquiescing in this opinion, on the contrary I believe it not to be difficult to direct the love of popular regard and the liberality which might waste itself in merely personal or temporary objects to works of public utility—a bridge, a school, a road, an aqueduct, or a tank; but to do this there must be conciliation and intercourse and mutual good will and confidence, and as a Magistrate is able and willing or otherwise, to establish these, and to lead those under his charge who have most of wealth and influence to act in co-operation with him, so is he peculiarly fit for his office or to be pronounced wanting in some of the qualifications on which the Government sets the highest value. I have seen traces and beneficial proofs of this union in other place—I cannot say that I have found it at Delhi with regard to what may be accomplished directly by the Government, I have to beg that information may be called for as to whether any surplus of the Chowkedarry tax, or any ferry or other local fund may be made applicable to the purposes which I have in view. Possibly the King of Delhi might be influenced to employ some portions of the Royal Grant for such objects when directly connected with the improvement of the Buildings and grounds of the Palace or its Environs.

11. I would not in any remarks be understood as unduly censuring Mr. French,[1] the present Magistrate. He has been but a few months in the office, he found here many of the defects upon which I have had to comment, and I am afraid that at Delhi as at other places, such defects are greatly to be attributed to that frequent change of officers which leaves no one responsible, and which makes a persevering and consistent course of improvement so peculiarly difficult in India. Yet it is impossible for me not to say that I should have been much better

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[1] It appears from the enclosure to the letter, dated the 26th May, 1838, from Mr. T. T. Metcalfe, Agent to the Governor General at Delhi to Mr. W. H. Macnaghten, Secretary to Governor General, Political Department, that Mr. P. C. French was officiating as Collector of Delhi in 1838. (Pol. Cons., 4th July, 1838, No. 6.)

pleased by finding not only a due attention to the ordinary and necessary duties of office, but also a zealous and warm interest for the comfort of the community by the promotion of measures of general convenience and advantages.

12. It is to the credit of the Magistracy that the police is very well-spoken of and said to be within the City most efficient for the maintenance of order and the repression of crime, objects for which much assistance must be derived from efficient outer wall as also by the means which are at command of closing at night the communication between one section of the City with another. Without the walls, I had not reason to commend either the efficiency of the police or the goodness of the roads, on the contrary thefts and acts of violence were frequent beyond what is commonly the case in my camp and its neighbourhood, and the roads were unusually rugged. I was too far from being satisfied with the Jail. In discipline it is at least as faulty as any which I have seen, in construction it is more so, and although I am unwilling to attempt many changes before the subject of Prisons shall be brought, as is intended, with a view to a general reform before the Government, I think that this jail is particularly open to observation. The building is an ancient Serae,[1] consisting of one large square, the Chambers of which abutting upon the outer walls, are the cells of the Prisoners. One small yard is walled off for the women, and a building for the sick stands in the middle and except that the women are separated, there is no pretence of classification of any kind—but the prisoner convicted of heinous or of light crimes, the prisoner under examination, even the sick and the convalescent are all herded together except that the prisoners for life are in the most revolting manner chained to their cells either by the neck or by the legs, and not able to move beyond the range of their chains. The Hospital seems to be carefully attended by Mr. McIntosh,[2] but it opens on the great Court, and it is utterly inapplicable to those general objects of charity to which I have been glad to find that the hospitals of our jails are in most populous cities open. I would require the Commissioner to report on the means of improving this jail in the points in which I have marked it as being deficient (if the means cannot be furnished without great expense of wholly

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[1] The Sarai is named after Farid Khan, one of the grandees of Jahangir's Court.

[2] Robert McIntosh was Asst. Garrison Surgeon, and Civil Surgeon, Delhi, in 1838 and was promoted to the rank of Surgeon next year.

removing it to another site) and I would specially ask for plans and estimates for dividing the enclosure into a proper number of wards.

13. Within the city an Insane Hospital is supported by the Government and I am glad to bear witness to the cleanliness, the quiet, and excellent order of its management, but the locality is bad and confined, and the establishment is very inferior to that of the same description which is supported at Benares, the free ventilation of which and the means of occupation which its gardens afford to those who are but slightly effected, make it to stand favorably in contract with the narrow space allotted to the purpose at Delhi I would ask the Commissioner to report whether upon the removal of the lines of the Sappers and Miners from within the City some better accommodation might not well be procured for the purpose of this Hospital.

14. Except to the insane, no public succour of any kind is given to the sick of this great City, and as a Medical establishment is already supported for this one object, and the extension of the services of such an establishment to the general purposes of a dispensary might probably be accomplished at a very small expense, I would desire the attention of the Commissioner to this subject, also in communication with the Executive Engineer and with Mr. McIntosh and in connection with the enquiry respecting a change in the site of the Hospital, I am strongly favourable to the plan of establishing in the Western Provinces two or three dispensaries on the scheme recently settled in my correspondence with the President in Council such as it has been resolved to found at four of the Principal stations in Bengal and Behar—and no City would appear to be more appropriate for an establishment of this kind than Delhi.

15. Upon the ordinary course of the revenue and Judicial business, I do not think it necessary here to speak at length—Whatever I may had to remark upon these will be found in my communications with those to whom these departments are immediately subordinate, but whilst I think that enough has not been done at Delhi in that most important though undefined course of administration by which the general welfare of a people is consulted and promoted, their affections and feelings are conciliated, and their co-operation secured to a Government, I would in justice say that I have had no reason to find fault with any want of diligence or regularity in the manner in which the business strictly imposed upon its officers has been performed.

16. There are at Delhi two Colleges, one an Oriental one supported in part by a munificent Private donation which yields a monthly income of about Rs. 556 and the other than an English Institution wholly endowed by the Government. I visited both of these schools and during my residence at Delhi particular enquiries were made into their conduct and management by my direction and in pursuance of a wish expressed by the General Committee of Public Instruction. The result of these enquiries will be laid before the Government in due course, and in the mean time, I need only observe, that the scale of instruction at the Oriental College appears to have been found every deficient. For many years this college seems not to have trained up any distinguished scholars, its system to have been in many respects faulty, and its teachers but imperfectly qualified; and I am quite disposed to favour any reform which may within the ample means allotted to the college, secure to all desirous to prosecute Oriental studies, the best possible means of instruction. The English Institution has already supplied several promising young men to the Public Service. It seemed however to have an establishment of teachers disproportionately large as compared with the number of scholars and yet to want a higher grade of tuition for the youths of the senior classes who have already acquired a considerable mastery over the English language. Arrangements for providing for this want are under the consideration of the Committee of Education and the particular measures which it may be most desirable and practicable to adopt have formed part of the recent investigations to which I have alluded.

17. The Nuwab Hamid Ullee Khan as representative of the individual by whom the Delhi Oriental College has been so liberally endowed has urged frequent and strong complaints of neglect and abuse in the management and superintendence of the Institution— A further Memorial of the same nature was presented to me when at Delhi, and the subject shall have the most accurate enquiry. I find the annexed [1] Notice of these complaints in the published report of the

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[1] "Towards the close of the year 1835 Nawab Hamid Allee Khan requested that the interest of his late father-in-law Fuzul Ali Khan's grant might be expended on this college under his superintendence on which we remarked that *more than the monthly income derived from the grant (about Rs. 556) was laid out in the encouragement of Arabic and Persian learning in the college*, that in our opinion pecuniary rewards of merit ought to be substituted for the small alimentary allowances hitherto indiscriminately granted to the Oriental students &c."

Education Committee for 1836 (Page 105). The question of giving pecuniary rewards of merit in one sum as prizes at the annual examinations or of granting in preference to the most distinguished candidates fixed stipends restricted in number but to be held for a limited time after a fair and very strict competition in the place of the former objectionable system of indiscriminate alimentary allowances is one worthy of grave attention in maturing our plans for the improvement of education in this country.

18. It may be of interest to incorporate with this Minute the subjoined statement of the effect of the order of March, 1835, abolishing the system of general Alimentary allowances at both the Oriental and English Colleges at Delhi.

A memorandum of the students of the Oriental and English College for the past 5 years.

Oriental College, Delhi				Delhi or English Institution			
On 1st January	Stipendiaries	Non Do	Total	Stipendiaries 1st January		Non Do	Total
1833	243	36	279	1833	134	18	152
1834	230	18	248	1834	129	11	140
1835	217	10	227	1835	127	61	188
1836	164	34	198	1836	117	50	167
1837	124	17	141	1837	68	40	108
1838, February 26th.	89	34	123	1838	47	41	88

19. The very interesting and important subjects of the improvement of the canal irrigation in the Delhi Districts, the drainage of the Nujufghur Jheel,[1] and the employment if it be found practicable of the

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[1] "The area which drains into the Najafgarh *Jhil* is estimated at some 3,000 square miles; in years gone by an area of more than 80 square miles has been known to be submerged by the floods." In 1838 a channel known as the Jhil drain was cut to run the surplus water into the Jamna under the supervision of Captain (afterwards Sir Henry) David. The drain

waters of the Guggur River[1] for irrigation purposes, engaged much of my attention in my enquiries respecting the internal condition of this Territory. In a season like the present of disastrous drought, it has been peculiarly gratifying to observe the benefits conferred by the canals on the tract of country through which they run and the maintenance (and the extension as far as the supply of water from the Jumna will admit) of such works, is an object worthy of all the care of the Government. The result of my observations on these works and topics connected with them, will be found in a resolution recorded by me on the proceedings of the Government of the N. W. Provinces, and as a copy of that resolution will of course be brought before the Supreme Government, I need not recapitulate the contents of it in this paper.

20. Before closing this paper, I would only add a few words upon the Royal-family at Delhi. This family occupies a larger section of the City. The King's Palace is surrounded by a high wall, enclosing a space not less than two miles in circumference, within which he resides with Princes four hundred in number and with women far more numerous—Education is only bestowed upon a few of the higher branches of the family; the others are represented to be lamentably ignorant, living in unrestrained profligacy and many of them in a state bordering upon absolute penury, yet daily multiplying in number. It is impossible to foresee what end this accumulation of misery and degradation is to reach, nor can I point out the manner in which the Government can well and usefully deal with it, but I wish the Commissioner to be called upon to report on the condition and conduct of this family in all its several branches, and upon the present regulation of the Palace. I am desirous also that some early definite settlement should be formed of the question of the acceptance or refusal by the

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begins at Chaola and falls into the Jamna at Wazirabad.—*Delhi District Gazetteer* (1912) p. 7; *Gazetteer of the Delhi District* (1883-84), pp. 8-9.

For the draining canal see a map of the Najafgarh area appended to Fanshawe's *Delhi Old and New*.

Mr. J. Thomason, Secretary to the Governor General, N. W. P., forwarded to the Military Board on the 15th March, 1838, a report from Lt. Durand, Engineer, dated the 26th February, 1838, relating to the drainage of the Najafgurh and other Jhils in the Southern Division of Delhi.—(Mily. Board's progs., April, 1838, pages 12, 123-40).

[1] The Ghaggar rises in the lower slopes of the Himalayas in the Sirmur State and runs through Ambala, Patiala and Hissar into Bikaner territory. The Ghaggar canals were constructed in 1896-97 and irrigate nearly 90 square miles of land in British and Bikaner territories.—*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XII, pp. 212-13.

AN ACCOUNT OF SIVAJI'S FIRST RAID ON SURAT, AS GIVEN IN THE DAGH REGISTER (1664)

J. C. De, M.A., B.L. (Cal.), M.A. (Lond.)

Introduction

EARLY in 1664 the Maráthá rájá Siváji with unusual daring and consummate skill and precision, swooped down on Surat by way of Nar-durg, Mahuli, Kohaj, Jawhar, Ramnagar with about four thousand picked horsemen and six thousand rather doubtful allies; drove the Mughul Governor of Surat, the newly appointed Ináyát Khán, in panic, to the fort; kept him and his colleagues inactive there with musketry fire, plundered the town at his will and pleasure for a few days; collected a huge booty designed to pay the augmented Maráthá army of the near future; and dashed back to safety before the huge armies of the Mughul at Aurangabad and elsewhere could take a single step to compel him to disgorge the spoil. The English factory, well defended by artillery of a superior make and by gunners trained in a more efficient school, hurled defiance at his threats, which, it very probably knew, could never be vigorously enforced by this captain of light raiders, surrounded as he was by actual and potential enemies. One must also remember that the English President at that moment was able to muster a comparatively large number of Europeans to aid him in the task of defence. He had marched in military array and pomp through the "body of towne," "taking a great circle round," and took energetic measures to defend the Company's property. But the Dutch, deficient in resources, adopted a very conciliatory attitude towards the Maráthá leader.

There are various Dutch accounts of the period bearing on this notable expedition, for example, in the Dagh-Register, Batavia, 1664; the Surat Factory Diary; a narrative of a Dutch factor of those days, Volquard Iversen, and that in Valentyn's compendious Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien. The description in the "Dagh-Register gehouden int Casteel Batavia" etc. (the Day-Register kept in the fort of Batavia of occurrences both there on the spot and throughout Netherlands-India, published by the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences, with the co-operation of the Netherlands-Indian Government), based as it is on contemporary or almost contemporary sources, is one of the most valuable of these. It is the Dutch official journal of events of that time, and covers nearly the whole of the seventeenth century beginning with the year 1624. The series is being still continued by publishers at the Hague.

As an English translation is not available (at least, readily), I have ventured to append one with notes leading to further information on the subject, here. I must acknowledge my indebtedness to a genial and scholarly colleague of mine—Rev. L. Jansz of Colombo—in this connection.

TRANSLATION

We come now to the contents of the Surat despatch in which we shall note first the affairs of the Court, thereafter the trade both of the Company and of the foreign nations. The Duke, Saestchan,[1] who led an expedition against Siwasi, was defeated, and personally had a narrow escape. The King of Visiapour has become a vassal of the Mogol. Old Chasiaen [2] is still capable of service but is held a close prisoner at Agra. The widow of the late Nabab, Chanchanna,[2a] appeared at Agra on the 18th January with about 500 elephants carrying a great treasure-load of jewels, gold and silver and something like 700 "man" of cloves. The aforenamed Siwasi,[3] following up his recent victory, made a sudden attack on the town of Suratte, plundered the place and fired it. We have received provisional news (voorlopende tyding) about this from other quarters. We can now give the history of the affair in detail.

On the 15th January of the year tidings came to Suratte [4] from Gandivy [4a] (15 kos distance from Suratte) how over there a General had arrived, alleging he was a servant of the King but not giving his name, having with him 8 to 10 thousand cavalry and infantry,[4b] pretending to be on the move to Amadabath[5] and the 'Duke' Mobotchan[6] for the purpose of aiding him against the rebel prince Supperseoour[7] in Pattan. On this the whole town of Suratte was thrown into confusion. The English President decided to go to Sualy,[8] but the Moorish Governor (Moorse gouverneur)[9] prevented him doing so, saying that if he and the Director of the Dutch fled, not a man would then remain in the town. The English therefore resolved to place themselves in a position of defence. The Director, (Directeur) van Adrichem,[10] planned to send on board his wife, his mother-in-law and the children, but the aforementioned Governor did not permit him to do that either, saying that the Hollanders and the English were bound in such a predicament to lend him a helping hand.

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[1] Hertogh = Duke. Sháyista Khan (Cakestkam of Carré), the Amir-ul-Umará, took Poona on 19th May, 1660, and the stronghold of Chákan on 25th August. On the 15th April, 1663, the Mughul Viceroy became the victim of that famous Maráthá raid into his palace. This made Śiváji into a Satan with his enemy, and a deva (=god) with his friends. "Wee are informed," says a letter from Surat to Hugli of 3rd September, 1664, "hee is worse then outed already" (as a result of his inability to ward off the Maráthá attack), "and wee pray and hope it is true that the King hath taken off his revenue, that was upwards of 50 lacks of rupees yearely" (F. R. Surat, Vol. 86, 116).

[2] Sháh Jahán, the Mughul emperor.

[2a] Mír Jamla, the "Caun Caun," "Con Conno," etc., of the English documents was granted the title of Khánkhánán or Captain—General. He died on 10th April, 1663, on his way to Dacca. (F. R. Surat, Vol. 103, 274, 284, etc.)

[3] Śiváji, the Maráthá rájá.

[4] Surat lies about twenty-eight miles to the north of Gandevi.

[4a] Gandivie of the Hague Transcripts Series I, Vol. XXVII, No. 719 (which we shall refer to as H. T. later on), and Gundavi of an English record of a consultation held at Surat on 6th January.

The Director then with much difficulty obtained the services of 50 or 60 Moorish soldiers,[11] totalling with our own fold 80 men, fully armed, to which number were further added 15 armed sailors[12] from the brigantine (fluyt) the 'Leerdam,' together with three free[13] Europeans (3 Vrye Europeanens) who offered their services. The enemy approached; the domestics took to flight. The following day tidings came that this general[14] had come to a spot[15] as near as 1½ miles from the town, being none other than the notorious Siwasi. The Governor sent him a message requesting him to be so kind as not to approach any nearer. The Director sent at the same time two servants.[16] Siwasi detained these messengers without returning an answer, but subsequently set the two servants free but retained their weapons.[17] All the dyers, glazers (gommers), weavers, grainers and others in the meanwhile brought their gear and fabrics which they were preparing into the Lodge. The English President, well provided with men, had the courage in their company to pass through the town and come into the Lodge, thinking of offering resistance to Siwasi, with the assistance of 200 Englishmen and his Moorish sailors.[18] Our sloop (smalschip), the 'Macassar,' took on board the aforementioned Dutch ladies, whom the Director had embarked without the knowledge of the Governor, and the Lodge (logie) was closed. The town was given to the flames. The King's Custom-house (tolhuys) was the first to be attacked.[19] The Governor with 100 cavalry [20] and his retinue, shut himself up in the fort, abandoning the town to the brigands, who moved right up to the fort. On the 17th of the same month Siwasi sent some men to the Lodge with a message as well to the English, asking for money, saying that Chasousa [21] was still alive and had made over the town of Suratte as a gift to him, and adding threats of setting fire to the whole town if the money was not forthcoming.[22] The Director put the messengers politely off, presenting nevertheless a gift of cloth (laker) and spices and using many civilities.[23] The brigands did not dare to pass our Lodge, being afraid of our guns. The flames went up again and would hove attacked our Lodge but the wind suddenly changed from East to North, so that the flames flew past our Lodge at the distance of a musket-shot. The English made two or three sorties and killed two brigands and a horse. They also brought away two prisoners.[24] Our men secured themselves against a sudden charge by bringing 4 or 5 sailors with firearms off the ship, being in addition provided by the Governor on the following day, of his own free will, heavy shot and two large pouches of powder.[25] Siwasi now lay with the bulk of his army two kos (2 cos buyten de stadt) out of the town, threatening to attack us because he received no money, but not one of his dared to come even in view of the Lodge. The Governor sent a troop of 40 Moorish horsemen to the Director with the request that he would add some Dutchmen to their number in order to go out and draw the enemy, while they remained quiet now and the fire for the most part had died down; but the Director declined, deeming that this inaction of the enemy meant further mischief brewing and would only result in a resumption of the attack in a day or two with greater vigour; and the very thing occurred, for the next day in the morning, it being the 19th January, there could be seen the flames going up simultaneously at 8 or 10 spots in the town.[26]

[4b] All this force did not consist of Maráthá horsemen. About 5 to 6 thousand of them were Sivájí's temporary allies. The H. T. gives the same figures.

[5] Ahmadábád,

[6] Mahábat Khán succeeded Jaswant Singh (Yaśovanta-siṁha) as Viceroy of Gujrat.

[7] Sipihr Shukoh, Dárá's second son, is apparently meant. Of course, the story lacked any foundation.

[8] Swally or Suvali. This statement is not apparently supported by the English documents, probably because it would have smelt of cowardice. But the H. T. corroborates this information. "L'Escaliot" admits that this thought apparently entered into the calculations of the English. But he definitely adds that the idea was abandoned because "it was thought more like Englishmen to make ourselve ready to defend our lives and goods to the uttermost then by a flight to leave mony, goods, house to merceless people."

[9] Ináyat Khán.

[10] Direck van Adrichem.

[11] Moor=Muhammadan. "L'Escaliot," calls them "Moors, the conquerors of the country." These soldiers were mercenaries who could be then hired, in Surat, on low wages.

The H. T. says that they demanded more than usual rates on this occasion. They were armed with bows, swords and pikes. "L'Escaliot," speaks in glowing terms of their warlike nature and bravery in the field, and opines that had it not been for the inefficiency of their leaders, they would have given a good fight to the Maráthá. "Through the unworthy covetuousness of the Governour of the towne they had no body to head them nor none unto whome to joyne themselves."

[12] Armed with cutlasses and guns.

[13] The H. T. says eight.

[14] Sivájí is called by the same title in the account recorded on the Loyal Merchant (Orme Mss. no. 263).

[15] Udhna of Bernier.

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[16] For obtaining information.

[17] One of them had according to the H. T. seen Siváji at "Ragiapoer."

[18] The H. T. confirms this statement. Sir George Oxenden was the then President. "Wee your factors (and) servants...haveing drawne (our men) out in ranke and file, with drum and trumpet, your President in the head," says an English document (O. C. 28, 3019; F. R. Surat 86, 4), march(ed) through the body of the towne to the green before the Castle...... Wee...marcht on, taking a great circle round." The visit to the Director is referred to by H. T.

[19] Much booty was appropriated from that place.

[20] He was paid a certain amount of money by the Imperial Exchequer to keep 500 men "trayned and in a readyness" (L'Escaliot's letter). (Shoane Mss. No. 1861). But he misappropriated nearly the whole of this contribution, and the guard existed mainly on paper. "The Governour, etc," say the English President and Council, "dared not show his head." The H. T. calls him a captain of a thousand cavalry. The letter to the Company of 24th November, 1663 (O. C. 28, 3001), calls him "a person of honour." "His quality is 2,000 horse pay." "Hee made us great proffers of favors that hee would shew not very pleased us upon all occasions...but (later on) hee cam short of his promise." The Dutch also were with him, soon after he had taken over charge from Mustafa Khán. "The Directeur was invited," says the Dagh Register (1663), "to a feast... he thought it well to keep aloof, since, if once you allow a Moor to tread on your neck, it will go hard with you afterwards. This refusal had a good effect."

[21] Sháh Shujá.

[22] The messenger according to the H. T. was "Nicolaes Calostra" a Greek trader then in Surat.

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[23] The Directeur's reply was as conciliatory as possible. He explained that the funds of the factory were invested in commercial undertakings; that he was ready to present the Maráthá with broadcloth and spices; and that Śiváji had always been friendly towards the Dutch, elsewhere.

[24] The English documents, generally speaking, corroborate this statement. "Wee caused a party of foote to sally forth the house," say the President and Council, for example, "and fight them, in which scuffle wee had three men slightly wounded, our men slewe a horse and man, some say two or three but wee routed them." "They discharged at them," says "L'Escaliot," "and wounded one man and one horse." But as I have shown elsewhere, the Maráthá king did not think the game of storming the English factory worth the candle, and it is very probable that it was for that reason only, that it escaped destruction. Śiváji could have adopted the same method which, he says (in his letter to Shahji), he employed elsewhere. "By means of explosives, we blew up one of the bastions of the fort. Thus we became masters of their territory." The English President envisaged the possibility of the factory being "undermine (d)" and "blow (n) up" in his letter of 28th January, referred to above. At the same time, the English spirit to dare and do, the excellent military dispositions and the superb artillery certainly made the project of taking the factory by force, a difficult one.

[25] This fact again aids us in proving that it was not the absence of armament which prevented Ináyat Khán and the other Mughul officers from deserting his charge, and taking refuge in the fort. The H. T. also says that an offer of ammunition was made by the Governor and accepted by the Dutch. "L'Escaliot" says that "a competent store" of "powder" was "gotte" for defence of the English factory, apparently, locally. A "marchant in towne" sold "two brass guns" of about 300 (weight) a piece."

[26] The H. T. tells us that the brother of the Kotwál who wanted to lead a sortie against the Maráthás had sent a messenger with this communication. The Directeur very appropriately pointed out that it was the Governor's duty to undertake defensive measures, and not certainly theirs.

The wailing of the townsfolk on one side and the blare and din of the trumpets, the rattle of the drums of the brigands on the other side, were more deafening than before. The Moors, showed their poltroonery in face of the brigands, and the brigands in turn showed their terror before our men, so that no one dared to pass through the streets where our guns could take them in the flank.[27] The North Wind grew rapidly cool; the fire rose higher and approached as close as a pistol-shot to our Lodge, so that our men, seeing no other result possible than that of being attacked by the flames, got their gear ready for flight, tying the necessary papers of the Company together, intending, in case the flames came nearer, to worm their way through in single file, put the fire out forcibly, and to show the brigands that they had no Moors with them. However, as though the cup was at their lips and yet left untasted, it happened that the wind veered from the North to the East so that in less than half an hour by the sandglass it had swung completely through a quadrant of the compass.[28] That was indeed a notable kind office which the wind brought out of its treasure-house and mercifully bestowed its favour upon us, for thereby the Lodge remained standing out of danger, while the flames annihilated all else that lay about them.[28a] The English, when they saw our men in such distress, offered them help but, thank God, there was now no need for succour. Thus was this great commercial town plundered and burnt, without resistance. On the following day it being the 20th of January, all was quiet again. There was heard no moaning; the fire diminished and went out; for Siwasi had broken up camp and departed with his army that night, carrying away with him a great quantity of booty, leaving, however, a rearguard of 4 or 5 hundred cavalry, who showed themselves just once and shortly afterwards moved away. Half the town lay on the ground in ashes. With the exception of the Lodge and the English quarters and also of the new Sara,[29] which is the mansion occupied by some Turkish and Armenian merchants, there were not ten houses left which survived the disaster.

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[27] The superiority of European artillery and marksmanship do not seem to require any historical demonstration during this period. Fryer, for example, points out that when Surat was fortified later on, it was planned that "Europe gunners" should be put in charge of the city gates (Hak Society, Vol. I, II, series no. XIX, 249).

[28] The flames were of such an intensity that the Dutch made all preparations for abandoning the factory. The H. T. also mentions that a change of wind saved them. In this connection one must not forget the notable action of Oxenden, who, finding himself unable (owing to the smoke) to discover the Dutch flag from his quarters, concluded that the Dutch were in an extremely helpless position. The European feeling of which I have spoken in my paper in the Calcutta Review (November, 1938) prompted him to send a messenger with offers of aid to his commercial rivals. The Dutch, however, did not accept it, because of their comparative security (after the wind had veered) and if I may add it, because of their unwillingness to be obliged, for anything, to the English factors. An earlier suggestion from the English President that the Maráthá rájá be informed that the English and the Dutch stood as one against his demands and threats, had not been agreed to by the Dutch who declined to curtail their liberty of action thereby. But at the same time friendly messages were exchanged during the raid.

European solidarity and national particularism bumped heavily against each other in Indo-European events of the seventeenth century.

[28a] The English factory however was not in danger of catching fire. "The fier," says "L'Escaliot" came not soe neere us as to take hold of us." He also speaks of "a fier soe great as turned the night into day."

Siwasi, thereafter, employed his troops for the purpose of capturing Hagiesiaesbeek[30] and Wiergenora,[31] two notable Banyan traders. The Ethiopian ambassador was caught and brought to Siwasi but was subsequently enlarged in return for a handsome bribe.[32] The

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[29] sarai = an inn. "L'Escaliot" calls it "seraw, or a place of reception for straingers." Another inn in the town was occupied during the raid by the Ethiopian envoy to the court of Aurangzíb.

[30] "Hodgee Zaed Beague" "Hodjee Zaide Beague," or "Hogee Said Beeg" of English accounts. He was Hájí Záhid Beg. His house had to be defended by the English, because it was "soe very neare us, as one wall to part both houses." Its occupation by the Maráthás would have enabled them to attack the English factory from a vantage point. The letter of 16th February to Fort St. George speaks of "Hodjee Zaide Beagues our neighbour('s) "house" "that we preserved in defence of our own." "L'Escaliot" 's statement: "It being posesed by the enemy might have been dangerous to our house" supports this point of view. Even after the raid, "Hodgee Zaied Beague ann Virgce Vorah, the two great merchants of this towne" are said (in an English record) to "hould up theire heads still; and are for great bargaines; soe that it seems Sevagy hath not carryed away all, but left them a competency to carry on their trade."

[31] Baharjí Vorá, Virají Vorá, Vraja Vorá or Virají Bohri, was one of the great Indian merchants who commanded respect of the English on the Western Coast during the seventeenth century. His name appears in numerous English documents of this period, and his trading activities were undoubtedly farflung. According to another Dutch account (of Iversen) this merchant-prince lost six tons of gold. He ("Virgia Wora") could have avoided all this loss, if (according to the H. F.) he engaged some peons for a few thousand rupees.

[32] The Ethiopian (according to H. T.) was forced to hand over presents meant for Aurangzíb to Śivájí. He had nothing else of value with him. "L'Escaliot" says that "the embassadour from tha Great King of Ethiopia unto Orom Zeb" was kept "prisoner and pinioned" by Śivájí.

Manucci in his gossipping way furnishes us with many details of this embassy. It was sent "to congratulate" the Emperor "on his accesion," and brought "horns of oxen full of civet"; "two elephant tusks, very handsome, to lift one of which four men had as much as they could do"; some "forged letters"; horses and a mule striped naturally in various colours, so beautiful that a tiger could not be striped in a more lovely manner," as presents. (The striped mule was without doubt a zebra.) The ambasadors reached Surat. At this time Śivájí "came to Surat, and in seven days sacked the city, took from the ambasaadors the elephant's tusks, the horses," a "horn full of civet and all merchandise they had." The poor envoys had to appeal to the Mughul governor for money to continue their journey to Court. "To tell the truth," adds Manucci, "this that is being plundered by" Śivájí "was the best thing that could have happened to secure them reception at, and a favourable dispatch, from the court." On other conditions, seeing the few presents they brought, it would have been exceedingly difficult to obtain a royal audience." Eventually, they were granted an audience, and robes of honour, six thousand rupees, a khanjar, studded with rubies, "two kettle-drums", "two trumpets of silver-gilt", "twenty thousand gold coins and rupees", "a considerable sum to be spent" on renovation of a "mosque", and religious books (Storia II and IV) were given to them. " A certain rebel of Visapour named Seva-Gi", says Bernier in course of giving a similar account of this embassy's doings, "entered the town (of Sourate) which he pillaged and burnt". The house of the ambassadors did not escape

Company's rented ware-house (pakhuys) standing opposite the alfandigo or King's custom-house remained unscathed, having so it seemed too insignificant an aspect to challenge an attack from the brigands, so that the Company's goods lying there were retrieved and brought over to the Lodge. Moreover, there were also some of our purveyors who were taken captives,[33] those who were behind-hand with their obligations to the Company, and the company will not apparently suffer any consequent loss, the damage being supplies to the value of 20 thousand r o/a and reported as such to the Court.[34] Fourteen days after the departure of these brigands the great Duke Mobetchan[34a] with four or five thousand horsemen came down from Amadaba into Surat and restored better order there. Subsequently orders came from the Court. The Governor, Anajetchan,[35] was deported, also the Governor of the Fort (gouverneur van 't casteel) and the Comissary were suspended, because they had acquitted themselves unworthily against Siwasi. Furthermore, the King resolved to have the town of Suratte walled, at the same time exempting the Company, the English and other merchants from payment of one year's custom duties in Suratte, inclusive of the 16th March of this year, whereof the Company

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the general conflagration; and all their effects that they succeeded in rescuing from the flames, or the ravages of the enemy were their credentials; a few slaves that Seva-Gi could not lay hold of, or whom he spared because they happened to be ill; their Ethiopian apparel which, he did not covet; the mule's skin, for which, I expect, he had no particular fancy; and the ox's horn that had already been emptied of its civet." "It was insinuated", adds Bernier in his usual jocular vein, "by the malicious Indians who witnessed their deplorable condition on landing without decent clothing, destitute of money or bills of exchange, and half famished, that the two ambassadors were in fact lucky people, who ought to number the ransacking of Sourate among the happiest events of their lives, since it saved them from the mortification of conducting their wretched presents as far as Dehli."

"This attack upon Sourate had also covered their misdeeds, in disposing for their own benefit, of the civet, and many of the slaves" (Smith and Constable: Travels in the Mogul Empire). The Maâsir-i-'Alamgîri says that an envoy from Ethiopia came to Court in 1075 A. H. "L'Escaliot" says, "Hee had sett free" "the embassador of Ethiopia" "upon dillivery of 12 horses and some other things sent by his king to Oron Zeb." This envoy is also said to have been sent by Sivâji as a messenger to the English during this expedition.

[33] The Dutch Company's broker (for example) Kṛshṇadása lost his house and other property.

[34] So that compensation might be obtained.

[34a] The H. T. says that the "Duke Suberdescham" was on his way to Surat at the head of Mughul forces, to be followed later on by the soldiers of "Mirfetta." "Suberdescham" probably is used for Mahábat Khan, the then Viceroy of Gujarat.

[35] Ináyat Khán. "The King haveing received and understood these things," says an English document of 2nd January, 1665, "the Governor of Surat, Reaite (*sic*) Chaun was [illegible]ned out of that Government, and in his place Ghasty Chaun is appointed by the King."

is already reaping the benefit.[36] Wherefore the Director makes request that His Excellency's order be graciously given for the purpose of having the ships in working trim as early as possible next year, so that they be ready before the expiry of the stated period. His Excellency has housed 12 sailors in the Lodge for the time being, making with the former ones a guard 18 strong.

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[36] "The King out of his own favor," continues the same (English) record, " to the merchants Mahometans, Hindoes, Armenians, Hollanders, English for jewells, gold, silver, horses, and all other goods...the whole customes thereof...he hath given free for one yeare."

VOCATION, VOCATIONAL EDUCATION AND VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE*

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Of late, the problem of vocational education has begun to attract a good deal of attention from the public and the Government in this country. The popular demand for vocational education is traceable to the acute unemployment in the land. It has been suggested that the existing system of education has failed because it has been unable to provide occupation to the people receiving it. Several Provincial Governments set up Unemployment Enquiry Committees which have made drastic recommendations regarding the reorganisation of the entire system of general education and the provision for a more adequate system of vocational education.[1] The Central Government has also moved in the matter. Experts were indented by them from England to offer suggestions regarding vocational and technical education in India and they have submitted a valuable report.[2]

That there is an urgent need for reorganisation of education in this country cannot be doubted (in fact, such reorganisation has been long since overdue); nor is it doubted that any well-organised sytem of education should make ample and adequate provision for vocational education; but there are several points in this connection which need clarification. Can the mere provision of vocational education solve the problem of unemployment ? Then again, what is vocational education and what are its scope and functions ? It may at first appear that consideration of the second question would be purely theoretical and so not quite relevant for our purpose; but it is not so. Different people have different ideas about vocational education. All are not unanimous as to what it exactly means and what its functions are. Some are of opinion that we would sufficiently provide for vocational education if we make provision for handwork of different types like carpentry, spinning or gardening in our institutions. There are others who complain that vocational education does not begin in the primary stages. Others there are who would abolish all common types of school and substitute technical institutions in their place. In fact there have been discussions about vocational education and schemes have been prepared treating the whole problem as something separate from other problems in our national life. Ambitious programmes of vocational education have been proposed without reference to the actualities of the situation. The result has been that often the issues have been clouded. Hence it becomes necessary to discuss some of the fundamental ideas regarding the subject of vocational education.

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* Address of the Chairman of the Vocational Education Section, All-India Educational Conference, Lucknow.

[1] *Vide* the report of U. P. Unemployment Enquiry Committee presided over by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru.

[2] *Vide* the Report of Messrs. Wood and Abbot on Technical and Vocational Education (submitted to the Central Government).

In a very real sense all education is vocational, for education is the preparation for living and living certainly is the greatest of all vocations. But when we use the term 'vocational education' we restrict its connotation. General education is a sort of a general prepararion for life; life offers many vocations and vocational education is the preparation for a particular vocation. In so far as it is a specialised type of education it follows and is closely co-ordinated with general education and can so be distinguished from it ; but such distinction as has often been made has not been done so always with happy results. For example there is a widely prevalent but erroneous notion that general cultural education, *i.e.*, the so-called liberal education and vocational education do not go well together, that liberal education is the education of the gentlemen while vocational education is the education of the workers, of craftsmen and technicians and that vocational education necessarily lacks in cultural contents. Such ideas belong to an age which has or ought to have disappeared. To-day we must realise that vocational education is as much cultural as general education is, and that vocational education can have as much liberalising influence as the so-called liberal education. In fact, if we look to history we find that what is liberal education to-day was vocational education yesterday. This is all the more true in the case of India. In this country what is to-day known as general cultural education was at one time—and that not long ago—the only kind of vocational education open to us. That education was directed for the purpose of providing its votaries with the vocation of clerks in private and public services. It is only because education no longer serves that purpose and that jobs as clerks have become scarce, that demand is being made to-day for vocational education as distinguished from general education. By vocational education to-day we have come to mean a specialised type of education, technical in nature and aiming at providing the individual with a specific type of vocation, preferably not that of a clerk, as clerkship has ceased to be a remunerative occupation.

Necessarily then the problem of vocational education is closely connected with the problem of vocations. If there are vocations, there must be vocational education, if there are many types of vocation, there must be many types of vocational education. But when we talk of vocations we have entered into the larger domains of economics and politics. After all it is the economic and political forces which guide the course of the life of the nation at every step. The political and economic conditions alone determine which vocations will be open to the people and how these vocations will be organised and co-ordinated. When this has been satisfactorily done, then alone we can talk of vocational education. Vacational Education comes only when vocations have been created and avenues of employment have been opened.

Our discussions about vocational education often become unreal because we are apt to forget this fundamental fact. We must realise once for all that the organisation of vocational education, as of education in general, must be correlated to the organisation of vocations, *i.e.*, to the industrial, economic and political structure of national life. Times without number we have seen how the lack of such correlation has had disastrous results. Many youngmen have received vocational education, have spent fortunes in foreign countries for specialised technical instruction, but their efforts were wasted because they could not find their proper vocations. They could control and plan their education but they or those who were responsible for their education had no control over the vocations, nor over the forces which created such vocations. Hence in organising vocational education we cannot for a moment even ignore the fundamental forces in the economic and political life in the country. Opening of technical schools will never solve the problem of unemployment, for unemployment is primarily an economic phenomenon and not an educational one. And as has been rightly suggested the problem is not so much of lack of employment as of vocations. The Sapru Committee rightly drew the attention of the country in this direction. Until and unless vocations are provided through reorganising the entire industrial and economic life of the people no amount of vocational education will be able to solve the problem of unemployment in India.

This brings us to the problem of the relation between State and Education in general and Vocational Education in particular. The State is ultimately responsible for the economic organisation of the national life. So unless the State comes forward to organise vocational education, there can be no true correlation between economic needs of the people and their educational preparations. Naturally it follows that vocational education cannot be left to voluntary agencies. It must be closely and actively associated with the economic and industrial life of the country and the State must organise it. Until and unless this happens vocational education will be something in the nature of a hothouse of exotic plants which have no roots in the soil of national life.

Voluntary agencies have no influence over the larger problems of economics and industry and so they are not in a position to offer any real solution to the problem of vocational education. So the State must be made responsible for it. We must strenuously fight the tendency of the State to refuse to accept that responsibility and to push it on to the shoulders of voluntary agencies and philanthropic institutions. In India the State for a long time failed to provide for general education of the people (in fact, even now compulsory primary education has not come) as it failed to provide for vocational education. It is now necessary to convince the authorities of the utter futility of this policy. The State must come forward with a co-ordinated programme of general and vocational education.

In this connection, I may incidentally touch upon the relation between general education and vocational education. Vocational education can begin only when the pupils are physically and mentally prepared to take up a vocation. Naturally there can be no talk of vocational education in the primary stage or even the middle stage. It is only possible when pupils have reached the secondary stage of general education. For to allow little children of 10 and 11 to be prematurely drafted into vocational schools before they have had a sound general education—an education which would teach them in general terms the supremely important art of living a richer and fuller life—would be a tremendous wastage and misuse of man-power. It would be a denial of the rights of the individual to develop all his potentialities to the fullest extent and to bring out all that is best in him with the help of a well-organised system of education. It is a pity that economic conditions often force us to send young children to vocations; but there can be no doubt that it is an unsatisfactory state of affairs and it should be changed in the interests of the individual as well as of the nation.

In the primary and middle stages we can only talk of practical pursuits as distinguished from specific vocational instruction. There such pursuits are necessary for their general educative and cultural values and not for purposes of providing the pupils with specific vocations. This point needs to be clearly emphasised; for there is an idea that practical pursuits are to be directed for vocational purposes and that the earlier we begin vocational education the better it would be for the individual and the society. The introduction of practical pursuits in the elementary stages of education, however, has been long in coming, for unhealthy traditions of the so-called liberal education were responsible in making even early general education in this country extremely academic in outlook and bookish in nature. Even at the primary stage we divorced education from the realities of life, activities found no place there and books reigned supreme. But all educationists are now agreed that in the early stages education should be mainly through activities. In this country, however, we are yet to accept these ideas and translate them into practice. Fortunately the scheme of Basic National Education is before us. It has forcibly drawn our attention to the importance of practical pursuits as instruments of education. Personally I consider that to be its most important contribution to Indian education. Let us hope that the gradual acceptance of the ideas and ideals of the Basic National Education will ultimately change the character of general education, and will facilitate its co-ordination with specific vocational education in this country.

I have already referred to the wastage of man-power due to a lack of correlation between vocational education on the one hand and economics and industry on the other. There is yet another force which nullifies to a great extent our attempts in providing vocational education even in the limited manner at our disposal. In spite of all the adverse forces a few avenues of employment are still open to our youngmen and women. How have these opportunities been utilised? It is a very common experience to find youngmen trained for a particular vocation discover too late that for physical, intellectual, temperamental or other reasons they are not fitted to that vocation. In such cases they have either to make a change (and it is often too late to change), or they have to adapt themselves somehow or other to an uncongenial environment. The result is, on the one hand, they never find that satisfaction which is the privilege of those who are properly adjusted to life and, on the other, the vocations they have taken never get the best from them. This is a sad wastage both from the point of view of the individual as well as of the nation. The nation has a right to demand the best service from the individual just as the individual has the right to demand that the nation should make proper provision which will enable him to give that service to it. When the demand of the nation cannot be fulfilled, not because there is lack of provision but because the individual is led to choose the wrong avenue of service, it becomes an individual and a national tragedy. Unfortunately for us such tragedy has become a common feature in the national life in India.

The remedy lies in vocational guidance. Let the individual be properly guided in the choice of his vocation ; let his abilities, aptitudes, and temperaments be studied and closely correlated to the needs of the vocation he wants to take up and we shall have saved a lot of energy and heart-burning, of useless wastage of human material, the most precious possession of a nation.

Vocational Guidance has to be scientifically organised. Vocational Guidance means two things ; analysis of the vocation, its needs and requirements and analysis of the person for whom the vocation is meant, his abilities, tastes and temperaments. We must know both these factors before we can offer effective vocational guidance. Vocation or job analysis, as it is also called, would require the co-operation of the psychologists and all those who have vocations to offer. Personality and analysis will be the work of the psychologist: He will have to study analyse not only the intellectual abilities of the person concerned but also his temperament, his character which ultimately decides whether a particular person would be fitted for a particular job.

Western countries have come to realise the great importance of Vocational Guidance and so we find that it has come to be a regular feature in the educational systems there. Unfortunately, however, in this country not much has been done in this direction ; but I am glad to be able to say that in my own University, Vocational Guidance has received its due recognition and researches are being conducted there by a band of earnest workers, That these researches may lead to results important to the future educational, economic and industrial developments of the country can hardly be doubted. I wish, all those who are connected with education and national welfare would see the important role Vocational Guidance must play if education is to help the people to live a richer and fuller life. It is specially and urgently necessary that not only the Universities should be alive to their duties in this direction and conduct researches in the field of Vocational Guidance, but the State and the different agencies of employment should also realise the importance of such researches. They should come forward to help the Universities generously with all assistance in their power. Sooner or later we must have special institutes for Vocational Guidance working in co-operation with the Universities and other bodies. For effective Vocational Guidance there must be close collaboration between the schools, and the different employing agencies, between education on the one hand and agriculture, commerce and industry on the other. The services of Universities will be utilised for purposes of finding reliable methods whereby an individual may be helped to the choice of proper career for himself and the State will see that such career is open to him. The problem of Vocational Education will be solved only when such collaboration has been effected and not before.

I have not here entered into any detailed discussions of the manifold problems of vocational education ; I have not discussed what different types of vocational institutions we must organise or what should be the courses taught or what would be the length of such courses and such other points ; such details should better be left to specialists. I have only attempted to point out one or two fundamental issues involved in the matter, issues which, in my opinion, cannot be evaded if we want to find any satisfactory and abiding solution of the problem of vocational education. I shall now sum up what I have said in a few words: I feel that vocational education must be correlated on the one hand with vocations; *i.e.*, the economic life of the people, and on the other with Vocational Guidance, *i.e.*, economy of man-power. Unless we can effect such twofold correlation we can never solve the problem. For a proper solution there must be re-planning of the economic and industrial life in India along with a re-planning of the educational programme of the nation, of which programme vocational education forms only one item, though an important item.

INDIA'S DEMAND FOR A CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

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II

THE National Demand of 1924 and 1925 which was endorsed by the representatives of all political schools in the Indian Legislative Assembly, was further considered by the Indian National Congress at its Cawnpore session in December, 1925. The main resolution of this session which was moved by Pandit Motilal Nehru, outlined the political programme of the Swarajya Party in the Central and Provincial Legislatures of the country. The Congress adopted the terms of settlement offered by the Assembly to the Government as terms on behalf of the country, and directed the Swaraja Party in the Assembly to invite the Government to give their final decision on the said demand before the end of February next. Failing a satisfactory response from the Government, the Swarajist members in all the Legislatures of India were asked to leave their seats and not attend meetings except to prevent seats being declared vacant. As no response or gesture was made by the Government to this resolution of the Congress, Pandit Motilal on March 8, 1926, declared from his place in the Indian Legislative Assembly that the Swarajya Party must walk out of the Assembly in obedience to the Cawnpore resolution. He made a short speech in which he said that the terms of honourable co-operation offered by the late Mr. C. R. Das in his Faridpore speech only a month before his death had been contemptuously rejected by the Government, and the Swarajists in the Assembly had received nothing but humiliation. On the conclusion of the speech, the whole of the Swarajya Party walked out of the Assembly after their leader, Pandit Motilal Nehru. This incident created such an impression that the President of the Assembly, Mr. V. J. Patel, felt compelled to adjourn the House after making a statement that the Assembly had ceased to retain its representative character as the result of the vacation of seats by the strongest party in the Assembly. It was, therefore, incumbent upon the Congress, as the President of the Cawnpore session, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, said in her presidential address, "to inaugurate from Kailas to Kanyakumari, from the Indus to the Brahmaputra, an untiring and dynamic campaign to arouse, consolidate, educate and prepare the Indian people for all the progressive and ultimate stages of our united struggle."

The Indian National Congress which met at Gauhati in December, 1926, reiterated its resolve of the previous year that the general policy of Congressmen in the Assembly and various Councils should be one of self-reliance in all activities which make for the healthy growth of the nation and of determined resistance to every activity, governmental or other, that may impede the nation's progress towards Swaraj. In these circumstances, suddenly on November 8, 1927, Lord Irwin, the Governor-General of India, announced the formation and composition of the Simon Commission. Lord Irwin's statement attempts to explain why Parliament decided to appoint an entirely Parliamentary Commission and also why it chose to appoint the Commission in 1927, in other words, two years before the fixed statutory period. The Viceroy's case is that in appointing the Commission two years earlier the British Government was responding to Indian political pressure. These are some of the words of the statement: "Considerable pressure has during recent years been exercised to secure anticipation of the statute...... Having regard to such considerations as these, His Majesty's Government has decided to invite Parliament to advance the date of the enquiry and to assent forthwith to the establishment of the Commission." (*India in 1927-28*, pp. 387-88.) But the private correspondence between Lord Birkenhead and Lord Reading published in the biography of Birkenhead by his son leaves no doubt that as early as December, 1925, Lord Birkenhead's mind had turned to the appointment of the Statutory Commission from an entirely different consideration. His letter of December 10, 1925, written to Lord Reading shows how strongly he recoiled from the possibility of a Socialist government handling the appointment of the Commission. This letter makes it perfectly clear that the main object of Lord Birkenhead in advancing the date of enquiry was to keep in his own hands "the nomination of the personnel of the Commission," and to prevent the risk of a future Labour government having anything to do with the Commission. A few extracts from this very important and interesting letter may be cited: "When I made my speech in the House of Lords suggesting that it might be possible to accelerate the Commission of 1928, if some measure of co-operation were forthcoming in India,. I always had it plainly in mind that we could not afford to run the slightest risk *that* the nomination of the 1928 Commission should be in the hands of our successors. You can readily imagine what kind of a Commission in its personnel would have been appointed by Colonel Wedgwood and his friends. I have, therefore, throughout, been of the clear opinion that it would be necessary for us, as a matter of elementary prudence, to appoint the Commission not later than the summer of 1927. . . . . . I should, therefore, like to receive your advice if at any moment you discern an opportunity for making this a useful bargain counter or for further disintegrating the Swarajist party. . . . . . But I am sure that, having regard to political contingencies in this country, we must keep the nomination of the personnel of this Commission in our own hands. In this matter we cannot run the slightest risk. My present view, therefore, is—and I believe that the Prime Minister shares it—that we shall in any event, playing for safety, be driven to nominate the Commission in the middle of 1927. If such an acceleration affords you any bargaining value, use it to the full, and with the knowledge that you will be supported by the Government." (Birkenhead, *The Last Phase*, pp. 250-251.) This letter thus abundantly shows that the acceleration of the Statutory Commission of 1927 was no yielding to Indian political pressure, but on the other hand, it was a measure of "elementary prudence" and "safety," as Lord Birkenhead expressed it, for the British Government. Indian pressure could do little or nothing to "secure anticipation of the statute." In the light of this letter of Birkenhead it is difficult to accept the statement of Lord Irwin at its face value. The King-Emperor no doubt delivered through the Duke of Connaught in February, 1921, the hopeful message: "To-day you have the beginnings of Swaraj within my Empire," but the machinations of his Secretary of State for India were all employed in subsequent years in the task of "disintegrating the Swaraj Party."

It is thus perfectly understandable that the Indian National Congress which met at Madras in December, 1927, would decide to boycott the Simon Commission "at every stage and in every form" in order to vindicate India's right of self-determination which had been so gravely infringed. The Congress also passed a resolution declaring Complete National Independence to be the goal of the Indian people. Finally, the Congress authorized the Working Committee, in consultation with other political organisations in the country, to "draft a Swaraj Constitution for India on the basis of a Declaration of Rights," and to place the same for consideration and approval before an 'All-Parties' Convention.

Lord Irwin, the Governor-General of India, in his address to the members of the Indian Legislature on the 2nd February, 1928, made a striking appeal for co-operation and pointed out the dangers of the boycott of the Commission. In this speech, however, he did not fail to assert vigorously the legal and moral right of the British Parliament to decide the political destiny of India. He said: "Let nobody suppose that he is assisting the realisation of his ideals by reluctance to look on facts as they are. It is in no spirit of argument or lack of sympathy with Indian aspirations that I repeat that India, if she desires to secure parliamentary approval to political change, must persuade Parliament that such change is wisely conceived, and likely to benefit those affected by it. She has now the opportunity of making her persuasion felt, through the means of the Commission. . . . They will carry through their enquiry with, it is hoped, the generous assistance of all shades of Indian opinion. But whether such assistance is offered or withheld, the enquiry will proceed, and a report will be presented to Parliament on which Parliament will take whatever action it deems appropriate.". This is the assertion of the doctrine of the Preamble of 199 reinforced with the strength and power of the Statutory Simon Commission in 1928. Again and again Indian political and national aspirations are confronted with the bogey of Parliamentary sovereignty. "Parliament will take whatever action it deems appropriate"—this slogan has been the greatest hindrance to Indian national freedom. The fundamental difference between Nationalist India and the British Government is there. As Mahatma Gandhi in a signed cable to the *Daily Herald* on the 8th February, 1940, said regarding his interview with the Viceroy on the 5th February at New Delhi: "What is offered is not real independence. Reality demands that India should determine what she needs and not Britain." India must have her own independent status. "Its content and nature," to use the words of Mahatma Gandhi again, "must not be dictated or determined by Britain. They must be determined by ourselves, meaning the elected representatives of the nation, call such an assembly what you will. Unless British statesmen definitely concede this, they do not mean to part with power."

In spite of the appeal or warning of Lord Irwin, Nationalist India persisted in its policy of boycotting the Simon Commission, and the Committee appointed by the All-Parties' Conference in 1928 produced a Report outlining the scheme of a constitution for India. This Report, commonly known as the Nehru Report after the name of Pandit Motilal Nehru, the President of the All-Parties' Committee, envisaged a constitution for India more or less on the lines of the constitution of the Dominion of Canada. The Congress which met in Calcutta in December, 1928, after a great deal of discussion, decided to adopt this Constitution if it was accepted in its entirety by the British Parliament on or before the 31st December, 1929. But in the event of its non-acceptance by that date or its earlier rejection, the Congress would organise a campaign of non-violent non-co-operation by advising the country to refuse taxation and in such other manner as might be decided upon. This resolution no doubt meant a lowering of the Congress flag of complete National Independence hoisted at Madras in the previous year, but on the insistence of Mahatma Gandhi who would be content with "the substance of independence," the resolution could pass through the Congress. India would be satisfied with Dominion Status if it could be brought into existence on or before the 31st December, 1929. The question now was whether England would seize this opportunity and solve once for all her Indian constitutional problem. But England was found wanting and there can be no doubt that the searching inquest of history will not fail to return judgment against the British Government which sought to use their power to hinder the nation's progress to self-government.

On the 31st October, 1929, Lord Irwin on his return to India from his four months' stay in England where he had gone "to tell his fellow-countrymen, as faithfully as he might, of India's feelings, anxieties and aspirations," issued a statement in which he declared with the authority of His Majesty's Government that the goal of British policy in India "was the attainment of Dominion Status." In this statement the Viceroy also announced "the setting up of a Conference" between His Majesty's government and the representatives both of British India and of the States for the purpose of discussing proposals for Indian constitutional reform. It should be clearly understood that the "Conference" in the Viceroy's statement was not called the Round Table Conference, nor was it exactly the kind of "Round Table Conference" which was demanded by the Indian Legislative Assembly in 1924 and 1925, and by the Indian National Congress at Cawnpore in December, 1925. The Conference promised in this statement was to be held "for the purpose of seeking the greatest possible measure of agreement for the final proposals which it would later be the duty of his Majesty's Government to submit to Parliament." So a real representative Round Table Conference would not be set up, and it would not be permitted to fashion the new Constitution of India without outside interference. The undiluted "duty" of His Majesty's Government to submit "final proposals" to Parliament would not be in the least disturbed. Certainly the Indian National Demand was not for such a Conference, nor was the demand of the Indian National Congress in 1928 for the immediate establishment of a Constitution based on Dominion Status met by the prospect of holding at some future date the proposed Conference. The Viceroy's statement held out no hope that the Conference would accept even as the basis of discussion the constitutional scheme of the Nehru Report which was adopted by the All-Parties' National Convention as well as by the Indian National Congress which had assembled in Calcutta in December, 1928. As for the promise of Dominion Status in the Viceregal announcement, it was vague and indefinite; there was no reference to time. Perhaps, the time factor, as a Secretary of State for India, Lord Birkenhead, openly declared in Parliament on a former occasion, was not of much importance "in the history of the immemorial East."

The reactions to the Viceregal announcement may now be considered. The Working Committee of the Congress in consultation with some leading politicians such as Pandit Malaviya, Sir T. B. Sapru and Dr. Besant, issued a joint manifesto from Delhi on the 2nd November, 1929. This manifesto was a cautiously worded document which stated: "we hope to be able to tender our co-operation to His Majesty's Government in their effort to evolve a scheme of Dominion Constitution suitable to India's needs, but we deem it necessary that certain acts should be done and that certain points should be cleared so as to inspire trust and to ensure the co-operation of the principal political organizations in the country." The signatories to the manifesto considered it vital for the success of the proposed conference that the representation of progressive political organisations should be effectively secured and " the Indian National Congress as the largest amongst them should have a predominant representation." As some doubt had been expressed regarding the Viceroy's statement about Dominion Status, the manifesto asked for more light in the following lines: " we understand, however, that the conference is to meet not to discuss when Dominion Status is to be established, but to frame a scheme of Dominion Constitution for India. We hope we are not mistaken in thus interpreting the import and implications of the weighty pronouncement of His Excellency the Viceroy. . . . . We hold it to be absolutely essential that the public should be made to feel that a new era has commenced even from to-day, and that the new constitution is to be but a register of that fact." Thus, once more was the hand of friendship extended by Nationalist India to England to be grasped by her if she wanted. But once more, unfortunately, England failed to rise to the occasion.

In the meantime a number of English friends had been sending cables to Mahatma Gandhi requesting him to respond to the Viceroy's offer. In his answer, Gandhiji said that he was " dying for co-operation," and he further expressed his political views as follows: " I have, therefore, responded on the very first opportunity that offered itself, but I have meant every word of the joint manifesto, as I have of the now [famous Calcutta resolution of the Congress. . . . . I can wait for a Dominion Constitution if I can get real Dominion Status in action. . . . . My conception of Dominion Status implies present ability to sever the British connection if I wish to. Therefore, there can be no such thing as compulsion in the regulation of the relations between Britain and India." These views were quite definite and clear. The question only was whether the British Government would be prepared to make them the basis of the next constitutional advance. As early as the 9th Feburary, 1921, the Duke of Connaught, in inaugurating the Indian Legislature on behalf of His Majesty the King-Emperor, was visibly moved by the " shadow of Amritsar lengthening over the fair face of India," and he announced that " the principle of autocracy had been abandoned." But it is common knowledge that where there is no real change of heart, autocracy reappears again and again in different forms.

The 23rd December, 1929, was one of the most fateful days in the history of the Indian National Congress, and indeed in the history of Indo-British relations. A meeting was arranged on that date at Delhi between Lord Irwin and Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Mr. Jinnah, and Mr. Patel, the President of the Legislative Assembly. The object was to discuss and clarify certain points arising out of the joint Delhi Manifesto of the 2nd November, 1929. From the outset the two Congress leaders, Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Motilal Nehru, took their stand on the basis of full Dominion Status and they wanted an assurance from the Viceroy that the contemplated London Conference would proceed on that basis. The Viceroy's answer was that no radical alteration could be effected in the offer which he had so recently made, and so after two and a half hours of futile discussion, the interview was terminated. It became abundantly clear that Lord Irwin was not in a position to invite the Congress to the London Conference with any definite promise of Dominion Status. (*India in 1929-30*, pp. 92-93.)

The scene now shifts to Lahore whither Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Motilal Nehru proceeded, sorely disappointed, after the conclusion of their discussions with the Viceroy, for what proved to be perhaps the most important meeting of the Indian National Congress. The failure of the conversations on the 23rd December, left no doubt as to what should be now the real attitude and policy of the National Congress. On the 31st December, 1929, therefore, in full Congress was passed the main resolution on Complete Independence. In this resolution it was said that nothing was to be gained in the existing circumstances by the Congress being represented at the proposed Round Table Conference. The Congress, therefore, in pursuance of the Calcutta resolution of 1928, declared that the word "Swaraj" in Article I of the Congress Constitution should mean Complete Independence, and it further declared that the entire scheme of the Nehru Committee's Report lapsed. It now asked all Congressmen to devote their exclusive attention to "the attainment of Complete Independence for India."

The plunge had now indeed been taken and it remained to be seen whither the movement was destined to lead. The Viceroy's address delivered to the members of the Indian Legislative Assembly on the 25th January, 1930, blasted all hopes of a final peaceful settlement or reconciliation. The Viceroy explicitly stated that the assertion of a goal was of necessity a different thing from the goal's attainment. "No sensible traveller would," he added, "feel that a clear definition of his destination was the same thing as the completion of his journey, but it is an assurance of direction." Thus the Viceroy made it quite clear that Dominion Status for India, immediately or even in the near future was out of the question. The conference procedure which was demanded by the representatives of the Congress in their interview with the Viceroy on the 23rd December, 1929, was considered by Lord Irwin as impracticable and impossible of reconciliation with the constitutional responsibility that must rest both on His Majesty's Government and on Parliament. Lord Irwin then concluded by saying that "in any case the Conference would be formed," and that His Majesty's Government should not be deflected from their declared purpose.

In answer to this speech of the Viceroy, Mahatma Gandhi wrote in the *Young India* as follows:—"His Excellency the Viceroy deserves thanks from every Congressman for having cleared the atmosphere, and let us know exactly where he and we stand. The Viceroy would not mind waiting for the grant of Dominion Status till every millionaire was reduced to the level of a wage-earner getting seven pice per day. The Congress will to-day, if it had power, raise every starving peasant to the state in which he at least will get a living, even equal to the millionaire's. And when the peasant is fully awakened to a sense of his plight and knows that it is not the 'Kismet' that brought him to the helpless state, but the existing rule, unaided, he will in his impatience abolish all distinctions between the constitutional and the unconstitutional, even the violent and non-violent means. The Congress expects to guide the peasants in the right direction." (Quoted in *The History of the Indian National Congress*, by B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, p. 619.) Mahatma Gandhi's impatience for Dominion Status in 1929 reminds us of the impatience for reform of a benevolent and well-meaning Chinese Emperor, Kwang-Hsu, who was not allowed to carry through his reform programme in 1898, and the result was that what might have been a successful constitutional evolution ultimately ended in the Chinese Revolution of 1911. These were the words of the Emperor in inaugurating his policy of reform: "Whilst I am waiting and considering, my country is falling into pieces. And now when I attempt heroic measures, I am accused of rashness. Shall I wait till China has slipped from my hands ?"

Mahatmaji's reference to the hard lot of the Indian peasants brings to our mind the condition of the French peasants before the Revolution. Lord Morley in his life of Turgot has found justification for all the excesses committed by the French people in the Revolution as measures of vengeance for their long sufferings and lost lands. He says: "When we consider the grinding and extortionate spirit thus shown in the face of a common calamity, we may cease to wonder at the ferocity with which, when the hour struck, the people tore away privilege, distinction, and property itself, from classes that had used all three only to ruin the land and crush its inhabitants into the dust." (Morley, *Biographical Studies: Turgot*, p. 76.) Mahatma Gandhi wants to prevent by all means such a calamity happening in India. He expects "to guide the peasants in the right direction" by giving them control over their own lives and the political destiny of their own country.

The issue of the economic condition of the Indian peasants which Mahatma Gandhi formulated in the *Young India* in 1930, is, without doubt, the most vital issue before the Indian nation at the present moment. Without full self-government, without a constitution fashioned by a Constituent Assembly elected on adult suffrage, this problem cannot be adequately solved. In the Puritan Revolution of the 17th century—more precisely in the Army Debates at Putney in the autumn of 1647—the English Levellers led by John Lilburne, Wildman and Rainboro demanded adult suffrage exactly on this ground. Strangely enough, Oliver Cromwell and his son-in-law Henry Ireton defended the principle that voting should be based on property and confined to those who had a permanent stake in the country. But all these arguments based on expediency and opportunism were swept aside by the passionate vision and impassioned eloquence of the Levellers. "Really," said Colonel Rainboro in ever memorable words, "I think the poorest he that is in England hath a life to live as the richest he." This is undoubtedly the authentic note of democracy. Dr. A. D. Lindsay, Master of Balliol College, Oxford and late Vice-Chancellor of the University, has made some pregnant observations on these Army Debates. He says: "The poorest has his own life to live, not to be managed or drilled or used by other people. His life is his and he has to live it. None can divest him of that responsibility. However different men may be in wealth or ability or learning, whether clever or stupid, good or bad, living their life is their concern and their responsibility. That is for those Puritans as for all true democrats the real meaning of human equality. . . Men who could say things like that have gone deep into the heart of things.'' (Lindsay, *The Essentials of Democracy*, p. 13.)

From this eternal and universal right of life, Rainboro drew certain conclusions: " And therefore truly I think, Sir, it is clear," he goes on, " that every man that is to live under a government ought first by his own consent to put himself under that government, and I do think that the poorest man in England is not at all bound in a strict sense to that government that he hath not had a voice to put himself under. " He appealed straight to the " law of God " and the " law of Nature. " He said: " Every man born in England, cannot, ought not, neither by the law of God nor the law of Nature, to be exempted from the choice of those who are to make laws for him to live under and for aught I know, to lose his life under. " On more definite ground, he then pleaded that the continual oppression of the poor by the rich could only be remedied by an equal franchise. (*Clarke Papers*, i., pp. 235, 300, 301, 305, 309, 311, 353; *Writings and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell* by W. C. Abbott, pp. 515-50). Mr. Wildman, another member of the group of Levellers, spoke in the same Army Debates at Putney in the same strain: " I conceive that the undeniable maxim of government is that all government is in the free assent of the people. If so, then upon that account there is no person that is under a just government or hath justly his own, unless he by his free consent be put under that government. This he cannot be unless he be consenting to it and therefore according to this maxim there is never a person in England but ought to have a voice in electing; there are no laws that in this strictness and vigour of justice any man is bound to that are not made by those whom he doth consent to. And therefore I should humbly move that if the question be stated which should soonest bring things to an issue it might return to this: whether any person can justly be bound of law who doth not give his consent that such persons should make laws for him. "

It is now recognised by all that the modern conception of democracy in England had its birth in the Army Debates at Putney in the autumn of 1647. The Levellers created a revolution in the world of ideas. The spiritual principle implied in Rainboro's " the poorest he that is in England hath a life to live as the richest he " was now translated into the principle that no man has a right to be governed save by his own consent. Cromwell and Ireton, no doubt, successfully opposed the Levellers because they represented the dominant forces for the time being, but Rainboro, Wildman and other Levellers represented the deepest insight—insight into the meaning and purposes of life, and the future belonged to them. The Indian National Congress from the year 1920 has definitely stood for the "starving millions," the "dumb millions," for the "naked" and the "unemployed." It is on their behalf that Mahatma Gandhi seeks interviews with Viceroys again and again; it is on their behalf that he demands and the National Congress demands the formation of a Constituent Assembly. The poorest he that is in India hath a life to live as the richest he, as the greatest he; and the "poorest he" will not be able to enjoy the fruits of his toil and have the necessities of life and opportunities of growth till a government is established based upon his full, free, and willing consent. Only a Constituent Assembly elected on equal franchise can cure India's fundamental evils—can perhaps devise a constitution which will not be forgetful of its responsibilities to the masses. At any rate something will then surely be done to check the "deepening poverty of the Indian masses."

A close and minute study of English constitutional history also reveals that the doctrine of Parliamentary sovereignty emanates from the principle of representation. The legal sovereignty of Parliament with which we are now familiar sprang historically from the representative character of Parliament. Parliament's legislative power in the sphere of taxation was acquired when the representatives or attorneys of the Commons appeared in the national Parliament at Westminster in the 13th century fully armed with the *plena potestas* or supreme power. Until the year 1872, and for nearly six centuries before, the writs ordering the election of knights and burgesses for Parliament directed that persons chosen should come having "full and sufficient power to do and consent to those things. . . so that for want of such power. . . affairs may in no wise remain unfinished." The significance of this formula is evident. It means that only representatives can bind the people whom they represent. The necessity and meaning of this formula was realised by Sir Thomas Smith in his classical work *De Republica Anglorum*, published in 1583. Parliament, according to Sir Thomas Smith, possesses its wide and various powers because "it representeth and hath the power of the whole realm, both the head and the body. For every Englishman is intended to be there present, either in person or by procuration and attorney. . . from the prince (be he king or queen) to the lowest person of England. And the consent of the Parliament is taken to be everyman's consent." (Sir Thomas Smith, *De Republica Anglorum*, written, 1565; first published, 1583; edition by L. Alston, 1906). According to this principle, therefore, what made Parliament " the most high and absolute power of the realm of England," was that in it were present the fully empowered attorneys of shires and boroughs with their *plena potestas*. By their presence only could every Englishman be legally understood to be present, and by their presence alone the consent of Parliament could legally be taken to be everyman's consent. Nor was this doctrine a mere ingenious invention of Sir Thomas Smith in the 16th century. In a case argued in the Court of Exchequer Chamber in the 15th century counsel for the Crown remarks that an Act of Parliament binds everyone to whom it extends, " because every man is privy and party to the Parliament, for the Commons have one or two for each community to bind or unbind the whole community." The doctrine of representation was thus in accord with the established tradition of English Common law. Parliamentary sovereignty thus sprang from the *plena potestas* of the representatives of the Commons. (*Oxford Essays in Medieval History presented to H. E. Salter*—The Plena Potestas of English Parliamentary Representatives by J. G. Edwards.) Taking our stand on the same time-honoured principle we hold that the future constitution of India should be framed by the representatives of the people of India armed with the *plena potestas* conferred by the Indian people. The cry of the American Colonies in the 18th century that there cannot be any taxation without representation had a historical basis and justification; it was consistent with the genius of the English constitution. The demand of the Indian people also for a fully representative Constituent Assembly gives expression to the same well-tried historical principle. In this business of representation there can be no question of property or stake, because, as the French economists of the Revolution said, a man's most sacred property is his labour. It is anterior even to the right of property; for it is the possession of those who own nothing else. Life is the greatest stake or responsibility of man and he must be free to make the best use of his life and labour. To ensure this, conditions of good life require to be created—conditions which will promote the development of human equality. But equality, as we know, and as a very distinguished writer, R. H. Tawney, has pointed out, " is not the absence of disabilities, but the presence of abilities." (R. H. Tawney, *Equality*, Halley Stewart Lecture, 1929.) It is certain that " abilities " for the poor, the unemployed, the naked and the starving in India will not be provided till the principle of universal equal franchise is recognised and established in India. It was an example of rare political insight and wisdom of the members of the Nehru Committee that as early as the year 1928, they unanimously decided to build the Constitution of India on the foundation of universal adult suffrage.

It is clear that the National Congress and Mahatma Gandhi have raised a new standard of light and social hope for the masses in the wilderness of India. Whatever may be said in favour of the so-called benefits of British rule and *Pax Britannica* it is beyond doubt that the British rule has done very little to relieve the distress of the dumb and starving millions. The Congress during the last twenty years has increasingly identified itself with the interests of the Indian masses and has done its best to represent their feelings and aspirations. It has shown itself conscious of the responsibility that rests upon it to adopt measures to arrest "the deepening poverty of the masses." The Karachi Congress in 1931, " in order to end the exploitation of the masses, " solemnly resolved that " political freedom must include real economic freedom of the starving millions. " This was indeed a wonderful gospel, and the beginning of a new dispensation. The Congress wanted to proclaim this resolution from the house-top, and the clear object of the resolution was to enable the masses to appreciate what 'Swaraj,' as conceived by the Congress, would mean to them. But this economic and social policy cannot be successfully carried out until a radical transformation is effected in the scheme of government. And this transformation, again, is incomplete or impossible without the participation of the masses in the task of the making of the future "Swaraj" Constitution of India.

The social significance and the positive quality of this new move of the Congress must not be missed. The early Congress stalwarts, in their own way and according to their light, did their best to promote the cause of the Indian National Congress. But all these meritorious precursors were made weak by one cardinal defect, for which no gifts of intellectual acuteness could compensate. They had the scientific idea—the rationalistic outlook, but they lacked the social idea. They were undoubtedly good and useful in many different ways, but they were wholly unfitted to deal with the prodigious difficulties of moral and social direction. . This function, so immeasurably more important than the mere clamouring for self-government, it has been the glory of the Congres under its present leadership to undertake. The Congress, in the new phase, is animated at once by the scientific idea and by the social idea. It thus shows an advance both in knowledge and in moral motive. "Great thoughts," said the intellectual Bacon, "arise from the heart and not from the head ; " and we also know another great saying of the same intellectual Bacon: " The nobler a soul is, the more objects of compassion it hath. " The Congress in its new phase and under the guidance of Mahatma Gandhi is striving to recognise the qualities of the heart and the claims of compassion and sympathy. The Congress is now impregnated with a growing enthusiasm for social justice. This new hunger and thirst after social righteousness may yet save India from disintegration and ruin. It is a noble faith that will lead the nation to victory. "A people once saturated with a passionate conception of justice, " says a great writer, "is not likely to fall into a Byzantine stage."

The break-down of negotiations between Lord Irwin and the Congress leaders on the 23rd December, 1929, and the Viceregal speech before the Indian Legislative Assembly on the 25th January, 1930, had momentous consequences in the political history of India. One issue clearly emerges out of this speech of the Viceroy—an issue which has been the supreme issue before the Nation during the last ten years. Lord Irwin or the British Government, as the Viceroy said in this speech, would not suffer the " constitutional responsibility " of the British Parliament to be impaired in the least degree. This catchword – constitutional responsibility of Parliament—has been used times without number to thwart Indian national aspirations. Even very rececently, on the 5th February, 1940, the negotiations between Lord Linlithgow and Mahatma Gandhi were wrecked on this rock of the constitutional responsibility of the British Parliament. " The vital difference between the Congress demand and the Viceroy's offer, " says Mahatma Gandhi in his statement issued from New Delhi on the 6th February, " consists in the fact that the Viceroy's offer contemplates final determination of India's destiny by the British Government, whereas the Congress contemplates just the contrary. The

Congress position is that the test of real freedom consists in the people of determining their own destiny without outside interference." In other words, England must accept the position that the time has come when India should be allowed to determine her own constitution and status through a Constituent Assembly elected by the people of India. The failure of talks between Mahatma Gandhi and Lord Linlithgow on the 5th February, 1940, is a rehearsal of the failure of similar talks between Mahatma Gandhi and Lord Irwin, on the 23rd December, 1929. The issue in both the interviews was practically the same. There was in 1929 the same Congress demand for self-determination, and there was on the side of the British Government the same objection that the constitutional responsibility of Parliament could not be evaded. As Mahatma Gandhi himself has narrated in his historic letter written to Lord Irwin from the Sabarmati Ashram on the 2nd March, 1930, the Viceroy could not give any assurance that he or the British Cabinet would pledge themselves to support a scheme of full Dominion Status at the Round Table Conference. In this interview, as Mahatma Gandhi tells us in his letter, Lord Irwin raised the question of Parliament's verdict being anticipated. Mahatmaji, of course, wrote to Lord Irwin: "Needless to say there never was any question of Parliament's verdict being anticipated. Instances are not wanting of the British Cabinet, in anticipation of the Parliamentary verdict, having pledged itself to a particular policy."

This question of Parliamentary responsibility needs discussion and further clarification. There are many instances in English Constitutional history when the British Cabinet, in anticipation of Parliamentary sanction, took decisions of tremendous significance in the history of the Empire. Parliament was anticipated when it did nothing more than embody in legislative form in 1867 the Seventy-two Quebec Resolutions of 1864, which represented the ultimate agreement between the Canadians themselves in regard to their own Constitution. Parliament was anticipated when it accepted in toto the Commonwealth of Australia Bill which was prepared, as Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, the Colonial Secretary, admitted in his speech on the introduction of the Constitution Bill in the House of Commons on the 14th May, 1900, "without any reference" to the British Parliament or the British people. The Imperial Parliament in this instance was merely a Court for the registration of the decrees of the

Australian people. Parliament was anticipated when it adopted the South African Bill of 1909 which was the work of the South African National Convention in South Africa. Finally, Parliament was dangerously anticipated when the British government accepted Articles of Agreement for a treaty between Great Britain and Ireland, on the 6th December, 1921, without the previous consent of the British Parliament Mr. Bonar Law, the Prime Minister of England, on the 27th November, 1922, in his speech on the introduction of the Irish Free State Constitution Bill in the House of Commons, defended the drafting of the Constitution Bill by the people of Ireland sitting in a Constituent Assembly, and pointed out that "as a matter of fact, the Constitutions of Canada, Australia and South Africa were all drafted in those Dominions." (Parliamentary Debates: Commons, November 27, 1922, p. 329). Sir John Simon, later the Chairman of the Indian Statutory Commission, in his speech on the same day on the same Bill, made it still more clear that the British Cabinet or the British Parliament was again and again anticipated by the British Dominions which invariably prepared their own constitutions without any reference to the British people or the British Parliament. Sir John Simon observed: "The procedure that has been followed is, however, by no means a novel or revolutionary procedure. . . The principle that Constitutions in our Empire have usually been found to have a permanent basis in the cases where they have been arrived at and settled on the soil affected by them, is by no means limited to the different Federal Unions under the British Crown. I believe it would be true to say that Constitutions which promote prosperity and loyalty, and which have been found to be lasting Constitutions for subordinate States in our Empire, have, almost without exception, either actually or virtually been framed by those who were to live under them themselves." (House of Commons Debates, November 27, 1922, p. 344). The first thought that comes uppermost to our minds on a perusal of this speech of Sir John Simon is if the Chairman of the Indian Statutory Commission himself made any attempt to give effect to this wholesome principle when he was called upon to serve His Majesty's Government as the principal architect of the constitutional edifice of India. There is no doubt an expression of pious wish in the Report of the Statutory Commission. (*Report of the Simon Commission*, Vol. 2, Para 7, p. 5), that "the new Constitution should, as far as possible, contain within itself provision for its own development" and that "it should not lay down too rigid and uniform a *plan*, but should allow for natural growth and diversity." But it is a matter of common knowledge that the Secretary of State for India, Sir Samuel Hoare, introducing the Government of India Bill in the House of Commons on the 6th February, 1935, knocked any such idea of Sir John Simon on the head and said: "This Constitution is a rigid Constitution and it can only be amended by future Acts of Parliament." (House of Commons Debates, 6th February 1935, pp. 1166-68). Not that the Simon Commission made a generous recommendation that the Constitution of India, like "the lasting Constitutions for subordinate States in the Empire," should be framed by the Indian people who are to live under it; but even the very modest recommendation that the "Constitution should provide opportunities for natural development" was intolerable to Sir Samuel Hoare, and the result was a rigid, cast-iron Constitution without any element of elasticity, without any scope for a continuous evolution, and without any method of internal adjustment and growth. Of course, it is too much to hope that either Sir John Simon or Sir Samuel Hoare should advise the experiment of extending such a measure of self-government to a race which has no connection with the British blood. For, did not Lord Crewe, then Secretary of State for India, openly declare in Parliament on the 24th June, 1912: "The experiment extending a measure of self-government practically free from Parliamentary control to a race which is not our own. . . is one which cannot be tried?"

Let us go back again to the question of the constitutional responsibility of Parliament which is proving to be such an obstacle to India's demand for a Constituent Assembly. It is a fundamental principle of English Cabinet Government that the Cabinet has to, and on many occasions ought to, arrive at important decisions without waiting to secure the acquiescence of Parliament. Parliament, if not in session, has to be called, and it is at best an unwieldy body for the purpose of dealing with present and pressing difficulties. The Cabinet system enables the constitutional responsibility of Parliament to be discharged by a group of ministers who can be removed if they prove incompetent; but at the same time it is expected that Cabinet ministers will not shrink from responsibility when decisions may be made and action taken without waiting to secure the acquiescence of Parliament. This dictum is in conformity with

English constitutional practice and has been supported by Sir Willam Anson in his *Law and Custom of the Constitution* (Vol I, pp. 341-42). Lord Irwin's punctilious demurrer that the constitutional responsibility of Parliament cannot be undermined or even touched is, therefore, opposed to the spirit and custom of the English Constitution.

It has been the fashion, no doubt, since the sixteenth century, to speak of the "absolute power" of Parliament. Sir Thomas Smith, in his *De Republica Anglorum*, published in 1583, referred to "the most high and absolute power" of the English Parliament. Sir Edward Coke, the great oracle of English Common Law in the seventeenth century, described the power of Parliament in the following terms : "Of the power and jurisdiction of the Parliament, for the making of laws in proceeding by Bill, it is so transcendent and absolute, as it cannot be confined either for persons or causes within any bounds." Blackstone, in his *Commentaries on the Laws of England,* in the eighteenth century, used language to the same effect, and Dicey in the nineteenth century repeated the maxims of Smith, Coke and Blackstone. But it is important to observe that this transcendent and absolute authority of Parliament was properly applicable only to the British people who were adequately represented in Parliament. I have already shown that the doctrine of sovereignty in England proceeded from the principle of representation, and the American Colonies in the eighteenth century rightly denied that the British Parliament could impose legislation on them. The ground of the Americans was that without the representation of the American Colonists in the British Parliament, there was no *plena potestas* or *suprema potestas* inherent in the British Parliament to impose taxation or law on the American people. But in spite of the American Revolution which broke up the first British Empire, the pretension of the absolute power of Parliament was maintained. "The King's Majesty," said the Declaratory Act of 1766, "by and with the Advice and Consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament assembled, had hath, and of right ought to have, full Power and Authority to make Laws and Statutes of sufficient force and validity to bind the Colonies and people of America, Subjects of the Crown of Great Britain, in all cases whatever." (G. Robertson, *Statutes and Documents*, p. 245.) This Statute still remains on the Statute-book, and is commonly understood, as Dr. W. Ivor Jennings has recently pointed out in his book, *Parliament*, "as expressing the law not only for subjects of the Crown in America, but for subjects of the Crown anywhere." (Jennings, *Parliament*, p. 1.) In other words, the legislative authority of Parliament is said to extend to all persons, to all places and to all events and circumstances. But in the present century the British Dominions have definitely and successfully challenged this conception of Parliamentary sovereignty. Section 4 of the Statute of Westminster, 1931, has curtailed this sovereignty of Parliament so far as the Dominions are concerned. It declares that no Act of Parliament "shall extend or be deemed to extend to a Dominion as part of the law of that Dominion, unless it is expressly declared in the Act that that Dominion has requested, and consented to, the enactment thereof." It may, no doubt, be said that this legislation does not bind a subsequent Parliament, and that the Statute of Westminster may be repealed by another Parliament. But this is mere theory and, as Lord Sankey said in the case of *British Coal Corporation* v. *The King*, (1935), "has no relation to realities." Legal principles must ultimately yield to social facts. Imperial legislative sovereignty and imperial good-will and co-operation cannot go harmoniously together. Even in England, the transcendent and absolute power of Parliament is practically subject to many limitations. The present Parliamentary system has made the Government autocratic by pushing Parliament to the background.

Some of the Dominions, however, for example, the Union of South Africa and the Irish Free State utilised the Statute of Westminster for their own purpose of repudiating legally British Parliametary sovereignty. The Union of South Africa passed some time ago in the South African Parliament two very important Statutes, known as the *Status of the Union Act*, 1934, and the *Royal Executive Functions and Seals Act*, 1934, which declare "the Status of the Union of South Africa as a sovereign independent State" and assert that the "Parliament of the Union shall be the sovereign legislative power in and over the Union." Section 4(1) of *The Status of the Union Act* provides that the "Executive Government of the Union in regard to any aspect of its domestic or external affairs is vested in the King, acting on the advice of His Ministers of State for the Union." The two Acts taken together support the doctrines of the divisibility of the Crown as regards the Union, the right of Union neutrality in the case of a war declared by the Crown on the advice of British Ministers (this issue was definitely raised by General Hertzog in the South African Parliament in last September, namely, the right of the Union to remain neutral in the present war), and the right of the Union to separate from the British Empire. (Kennedy, *The Law and Custom of the South African Constitution*, pp. 614-20.) The vital point in the *Royal Executive Functions and Seals Act* is the power which it gives to the Governor-General to exercise any royal function in respect either of internal or external affairs on the advice of the Union Ministry without obtaining royal approval. Professor A. B. Keith thinks that "in strict law there seems no obstacle to the Governor-General issuing a proclamation of neutrality in the event of the Crown declaring war on the advice of British Ministers. There seems further no obstacle to the Governor-General assenting to an Act which would sever the connection between the Union and the Crown." We know that the issue of neutratity was raised in the Union Parliament by the Premier of the Union, General Hertzog, in September last, and although Hertzog's motion for South African neutrality in the present war was defeated, yet the defeat was due to the vote of the members of the Union Parliament. It was not due to any outside pressure or external interference. The example proves beyond doubt the right of the Union to remain neutral in a war declared by the British Government.

South Africa, of course, has not yet gone so far as to think of severing the connection between the Union and the Crown. But this task has been successfully accomplished in another British Dominion—the Irish Free State, now known as *Eire*. The Irish Free State persistently and legally eliminated all elements of monarchy from the Constitution of the Free State between the years 1933 and 1937. In 1937, however, Ireland took the momentous and fateful step of adopting a Constitution which has made her to all intents and purposes a Republic. In the Constitution of 1937, which was approved by plebiscite of the people of Ireland on the 1st July, 1937, and which entered into operation on the 29th December, 1937, there is no mention of the King. The preamble of the Constitution asserts in unequivocal, firm and dignified language the sovereignty of the Irish people and the right of the Irish nation to be the architect of its own destiny. The preamble runs: "*In the name of the Most Holy Trinity, from whom is all authority and to whom, as our final end, all actions both of men and* *states must be referred, We, the people of Eire, humbly acknowledging all our obligations to Our Divine Lord, Jesus Christ, Who sustained our fathers through centuries of trial, gratefully remembering their heroic and unremitting struggle to regain the rightful independence of our nation, and seeking to promote the common good, with due observance of prudence, justice and charity, so that the dignity and freedom of the individual may be assured, true social order attained, the Unity of our country restored, and concord established with other nations, do hereby adopt, enact, and give to ourselves this Constitution."* Section 1 of the Constitution declares: "The Irish nation hereby affirms its inalienable, indefeasible, and sovereign right to choose its own form of government, to determine its relations with other nations, and to develop its life, political, economic and cultural, in accordance with its own genius and traditions." Section 4 says: "the name of the State is *Eire*, or in the English language, *Ireland*." (*Constitutions of All Countries*, Vol. I, The British Empire, pp. 190-221, H.M.S.O.) So nothing now prevents Ireland from being called a Republic and it is important to point out that Ireland attained her present status quite legally by taking advantage of the legal position created for her by the Statute of Westminster, 1931.

But this must not make us think that Dominion Status of the Statute of Westminster variety is the same thing as Independence or is identical with Independence. There are within the framework of the Statute of Westminster different varieties of Dominion Status. Canada or Australia, for instance, cannot do, under the Statute of Westminster, what South Africa and Ireland have done. There are definite limitations on the constituent powers of the Canadian and Australian Parliaments according to the Statute of Westminster. Canada cannot repeal the British North America Act, nor can Australia repeal the Commonwealth Act. The Statute of Westminster has inserted safeguards both for the Canadian and the Australian Constitutions which the Parliaments of those Dominions cannot alter or modify. The preamble of the Statute of Westminster which incorporates the Balfour formula of 1926 is more or less an empty recital. At most it may possess a fine moral value. It confers on the Dominions no powers or privileges. "Seldom have the recitals of a statute," says Professor Kennedy (*Constitution of Canada*, p. 517), "so little relation to the enacting clauses." It may be douted if they have any function other than that of pompous sentiment. The most important thing in a statute is the enacting clauses, and some of the enacting clauses of the Statute of Westminster have imposed definite limitations on the constituent powers of the Parliaments of Canada and Australia.

It is very important to know with precision the legal situation of the different Dominions under the Statute of Westminster, and to understand the narrowness of the equality of status of the Dominions. "As the law now stands, it is idle to believe," says Professor Kennedy, "that, under the Balfour formula, Canada is 'in no way subordinate' in *any* aspect of its *external* affairs. Indeed, the blessed Balfourian phrase is at the best a pious wish, at the worst an anodyne; while it is too often forgotten that it is effectively qualified by the legal truth: 'united by a common allegiance to the Crown.' The verdict of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council declaring invalid, in 1937, a scheme of legislation, arising out of economic and pressing social conditions in Canada, and commonly known as the Canadian *New Deal*, has brought the question of constitutional changes in Canada to the forefront. But the Canadian Parliament does not possess constituent powers. The British North America Act has been specifically safeguarded in the Statute of Westminster. Section 7 (1) of the Statute provides: "Nothing in this Act shall be deemed to apply to the repeal, amendment or alteration of the British North America Acts, 1867 to 1930, or any order, rule or regulation made thereunder." Section 7 (3) enacts: "The powers conferred by this Act upon the Parliament of Canada or upon the legislatures of the Provinces shall be restricted to the enactment of laws in relation to matters within the comptence of the Parliament of Canada or of any of the legislatures of the Provinces respectively." The result is that, although Canada has outgrown the British North America Act of 1867, yet she is compelled to carry on to-day "the highly complex life of a modern state under a constitution drawn up for a primitive community, scarcely emerging from pioneer agricultural conditions." It is now more than obvious to the Canadian nation that the British North America Act should not be regarded as a sacred and inviolate constitutional charter. The need, now, of the Canadian people is to discover the best method of making the constitution serve the purposes of national life. (*Vide* the Canadian Bar Review, June, 1937.) The difficulties and obstacles in the path of the realisation of this object are not merely the obstructing provisions of the Statute of

Westminster ; there are undoubtedly other factors. But we are not concerned to discuss here the difficulties created in Canada by other factors. We have said enough to show that the Dominion Status of Canada under the Statute of Westminster is not the same thing as Independence.

Ireland, fortunately both for England and herself, was not placed under any such impediment created by the Statute of Westminster. It thus became possible for her legally to assert her independence and to remove all elements of monarchy from the constitution of *Eire*. But the Irish question was not absolutely free from difficulty. There was a talk in the British House of Commons, when the Statute of Westminster Bill was being discussed in the House in November, 1931, of imposing a limitation on the constituent power of the *Dail Eireann*. An amendment was moved by Col. Gretton to safeguard the Anglo-Irish Treaty of 6th December, 1921, in the following terms: " Nothing in this Act shall be deemed to authorize the legislature of the Irish Free State to repeal, amend or alter the Irish Free State (Agreement) Act, 1922, or the Irish Free State Constitution Act, 1922, or so much of the Government of Ireland Act, 1920, as continues to be in force in Northern Ireland." It was apprehended that under the powers granted by the Statute of Westminster the Free State might repeal the Government of Ireland Act, 1920, and thus destroy the Northern Government and Legislature, and might make any changes, including the abolition of monarchy, in the constitution of the Free State. Mr. Winston Churchill, in the House of Commons on the 20th November, 1931, gave vigorous utterance to this view. He said : " I am advised on high technical authority that this Bill confers upon the Irish Free State full legal power to abolish the Irish Treaty at any time when the Irish Legislature may think fit." So there was a definite proposal of safeguarding the Irish Treaty of 1921 in the Statute of Westminster, and if this had taken place, then the constituent powers of the Irish *Dail* would be of very small importance indeed. Fortunately, on receiving a letter of remonstrance from Mr. Cosgrave, the President of the Executive Council of the Irish Free State, on November 21, 1931, against any such proposal, the Government of the day decided to oppose the amendment moved by Col. Gretton, and the result was that the House of Commons rejected by 360 votes to 50 the said amendment. This clearly and unmistakably shows that the Statute of Westminster, with the amendment of Col. Gretton incorporated in it, would be a quite different thing from the Statute of Westminster as it subsequently proved to be in the case of Ireland. There cannot, therefore, be any shadow of doubt that Dominion Status under the Statute of Westminster is not identical with Independence. Nor is Dominion Status of the different Dominions of the same quality and of the same content. A great deal of difference is made by the enacting clauses of the Statute. If India ever gets Dominion Status, then she will get it, as was made clear by the British Government in the House of Commons on the 2nd December, 1931, by a separate Act of Parliament. (Commons Debates, 2nd December, 1931, pp. 1114-16). In that case much will depend on the enacting clauses. If, for instance, in such a Statute of the Statute of Westminster variety, safeguards are introduced regarding defence, the Services, the European interests, the minority interests, and the interests of the Indian States, then this so-called Dominion Status for India might lead to results quite different from those contemplated by nationalist India. In a sense, such a Dominion Status for India may be used to block in future the road to complete national self-determination. I am not decrying the ideal of Dominion Status. What I plead is that India should make her choice and cast her vote after a full realisation of the meaning and content of both the concepts of *Dominion Status* and *National Independence*. Let the Constituent Assembly judge.

(To be continued.)

News and Views

[A monthly record of News and Views relating to Cultural and Academic Institutions, Events and Movements in India and Abroad.]

Government School Teachers' Conference

The All-Bengal Government School Teachers' Conference was held on Saturday, the 17th February, at the Hare School premises, College Street, Calcutta. Mr. W. C. Wordsworth presided. The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, Chief Minister and Minister in charge of Education, Bengal, performed the opening ceremony of the Conference.

Industrial Development

It is understood that the Central Government have decided to constitute a Board of Industrial Development presumably to collaborate materials for industrial development in the country during the war. It is believed that Dr. S. S. Bhatnagar of Lahore would be its Chairman.

Radio Research

Studies of reception conditions, particularly with reference to the internal short wave service, are being made by the All-India Radio.

Pulse measurements are taken and the results so far obtained show that the transmissions on the 31 metre band in the morning give somewhat unsatisfactory reception within 300 miles of the transmitting station during July and August, due to the intervention of "skip distance" effects. Research in this matter is being made with an exhaustive study of ionospheric conditions.

Frequencies of the stations of All-India Radio are checked regularly by the research workers at the Todapur Receiving Centre of Delhi. Any appreciable deviation is rectified. Reception conditions of the British Broadcasting Corporation Stations are also kept under continual observation.

Aeronautical Training

Efforts are being made in Bangalore to establish a Mysore Airways Company and to start an Aeronautical Training School and Flying Club. The organisers are in correspondence with the Mysore Government and the Air Commander-in-Chief, Air Forces, India, in this matter.

Manipuri Language as Vernacular

Recognition of the Manipuri language as a vernacular up to the B.A. standard of the University of Calcutta was urged at a conference of the

Manipuri Sahitya Parishad held recently. The conference was presided over by Mr. L. Ibungahal, Member of the Manipur State Durbar.

The resolution which was passed to the above effect also pointed out that there was no dearth of books in Manipuri literature which could well form texts up to the B.A. standard for the students willing to adopt this language as vernacular.

Free Midday Meals

Free midday meals are to be provided this year to pupils in schools throughout Ceylon.

The cost of feeding is estimated to amount to 3½ cents per child. Up to December 31, 1939, a sum of nearly five lakhs of rupees had been spent on this service, and supplementary estimate for Rs. 2,60,000 is to be brought up before the State Council.

The Executive Committee of Education considers this an important service rendered all the more necessary in view of the temporary conditions caused by the drought and the prevalence of malaria.

Educational Tours

The benefits of travel as part of a good education have long been recognised and it is realised that the travel habit cannot be inculcated too early among the school-going youth of any country.

In India, investigations have revealed that while educational institutions are aware of the benefits of travel, various difficulties have presented themselves, among these being the lack of interest displayed by parents and guardians, the poverty of the average student and the absence of information in educational institutions regarding the concessions and facilities which most railways in the country offer to students on excursions of this nature.

The South Indian Railway has lately given a considerable amount of attention to this matter and has taken special steps to overcome these difficulties. The support of the Madras Provincial Teachers' Organisation was obtained and specially deputed staff attended all educational conferences in the province.

Manipur to have a College

An Intermediate Arts College will be started at Imphal with effect from July next. The college is proposed to be named after the name of Her Highness the Maharani of Manipur, Sreejukta Dhanamanjari, whose donation of Rs. 10,000 towards the college fund has made its establishment possible.

Paintings of Chinese Artist

"A feast of rare loveliness." That is how Dr. Tagore described the paintings of the Chinese artist Prof. Ju Peon, Head of the Department of

Fine Arts of China's National Central University. Dr. Tagore further says, "I have enjoyed them profoundly and am sure that our art-lovers will derive rich inspiration from them."

An exhibition of Prof. Peon's paintings and other works numbering over 200 was held on February 21 in the hall of Oriental Academy under the joint auspices of the Oriental Art Society and Sino-Indian Cultural Society. The Exhibition was opened by Dr. Abanindranath Tagore and remained open for about a week. A special interest attached to the Exhibition was a number of sketches done by the Poet himself.

Exhibitions of Prof. Peon's works were also held in Paris, Brussels, Berlin, Milan, Frankfurt, Moscow and Leningrad.

Miscellany

TAI HSU ON INDIA AND BUDDHISM

Lecturing at Tagore's *Viswa-Bharati* His Holiness Tai Hsu, Founder-President of the International Institute of Buddhist Studies in China, said on one occasion as follows (January, 1940):

"I feel that the material life which has a concrete form comes into existence out of a spiritual life which is formless. Every real manifestation of life originates out of this ultimate spirituality and this concept forms the soul of the true culture of India.

"During the pre-Vedic and early Vedic period human life was in the closest relationship with nature. But in the decadent Brahminic period materialism as well as formalism had a greater sway over life. Buddha appeared at that crucial time and shifted the emphasis once again from material to the spiritual aspect of life. Since then the material life and spiritual life have been melted together into one and that became the message of the Buddhist period of Indian history. After this there was impact with two other very important religious ideals, I mean, the ideals of Mahomedanism and Christianity, which gradually made their way into India's cultural life and the civilization of India felt their influence at its core.

"The present century is the century of spiritual re-awakening of India when the whole nation is reviving its ancient glory. Modern Indian culture is India's original culture infused with the culture of the West and in my opinion Gurudeva is the best representative of the culture and civilisation of the India of to-day."

In a lecture on Buddhism Rev. Tai Hsu said: "I am a Buddhist and Buddhism would be the proper subject on which I could speak with ease and authority." Then he proceeded to explain in brief the fundamental ideas of Mahayana Buddhism and its attitude towards the universe. Four fundamental ideas he took up and discussed one by one.

"The first is the concept of the universe as a constantly changing phenomenon. It is eternally in a state of flux. In the world, for instance, in a man, we notice his change or development from infancy to the old age, in a tree from the seed to the fruit. Along with this change there also exists a decay in this world. For example, in the silk-worm we see that as soon as it weaves silk threads around its body it ceases to live. The butterfly too as soon as it comes out of the cocoon lays its eggs and dies. Thus we find that decay sets in as soon as the biological purpose is fulfilled. This constant change ending in new production is the progressive factor in the universe and has its value. Man being the only animal possessed of highest mental faculties and reason can remove the ignorance in him and can grasp the significance of this changing phenomenon that we call the Universe.

"The second fundamental idea deals with the problem of the form of things in the universe. Nothing in the creation exists by itself when detached from the cosmos as a whole. A tree depends for its existence on the seed. The seed requires the earth, sun, water and the air. The whole is a system of interdependent elements, every one of equal importance. A perfectly detached individuality is hardly to be found in this universe. Every individual object is in the ultimate analysis the effect of some definite law of causation.

"This leads to the third fundamental of Buddhism, the formlessness of reality or rather the reality of the formless. The first two principles clearly show that the form of the reality cannot be perceived. Concepts of time as well as space are ultimately relative, having very little of definition about them."

The speaker concluded by giving the audience an idea of the spiritual idealism that underlies the Buddhist concept of creation. "It interprets that 'mind' is the central dynamic urge that is at the root of every created form in the universe. No Supreme Being need stand high above and create this world by his will. Mind is the creator that brings into existence this eternal flux that we call universe."

Benoy Kumar Sarkar

THE ITALIAN CONSORTIUM FOR LAND IMPROVEMENTS

A particularly interesting case of the organisation of credit for land improvement is offered by the *Consorzio Nazionale per il Credito Agrario di Miglioramento* in Italy, a public body specialising in this type of operation. Founded in 1927, its special function is to supply the funds necessary for the most important land reclamation and irrigation works and for the great agrarian reforms. The State, the Bank of Naples, the Bank of Sicily, the more important people's banks and other financial houses take part in the *Consortium*. Its capital consists of an unlimited number of registered shares of 500,000 lire each, the capital now amounting 269,500,000 lire. Its function is mainly that of serving as guarantee for the interest-bearing bonds and for the mortgage bonds which the *Consortium* is allowed to issue, the former to twice and the latter to eight times the amount of the capital; in this way it becomes possible to finance agricultural operations to the extent of about 3 milliard lire. For each loan there is a technical enquiry and a legal inquiry. The *Consortium* does not work for private interests or in order to find lucrative investments but to aid the execution of works which will raise agricultural production in quantity or in quality. Hence it limits itself to financing works which are of undoubted value from the technical as from the economic standpoint and where private and public interests coincide.

The contract determining the legal relations between the *Consortium* and the borrowers is defined by law as a "contract of loan for the making of agricultural improvements" and has certain special features. First of all, the aim of the operation must be exactly stated. Secondly, the payment of the loan is effected gradually as the works for which the loan was granted are carried out, and is conditional on the exact and useful employment of the sum already paid for the purposes stated, although the sum actually paid out may be less than the amount of the loan originally promised. Repayment takes place over a period which must not exceed 30 years, by means of the gradual amortization in equal shares of the sum actually received in loan. The security required by the *Consortium* is normally a mortgage, although it need not be a first mortgage provided that the value of the property mortgaged is sufficient.

During the period 1933-1937 the *Consortium* has granted loans to the amount of 1,328,676,624 lire divided as follows: building, 307,139,143 lire ; improvement of land, 116,051,126 lire : roads, 48,432,838 lire; irrigation, 202,926, 847 lire ; planting, 90,790, 079 lire ; land reclamation works, 190,311,410 lire ; land purchasea for the setting up of small holdings, 10, 332, 000 lire ; miscellaneous 362,703,082 lire.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

THE COTTON WORLD

The statistics of the International Cotton Spinners' Federation, at present bring us no further than January 31, 1939, but Mr. Garside of the New Cotton Exchange has recently published provisional estimates which go as far as July 31, 1939, that is, up to the end of the cotton year. On the basis of these estimates and other information received by the International Institute of Agriculture, the aggregate cotton consumption in 1938-39 may be put at 6,340,000 tons, a figure exceeded only by the record of 1936-37. It is about 200,000 tons larger than the consumption of 1937-38 but about four-fifths of the increase is accounted for by " sundry " cottons.

The estimated world cotton lint consumption (in thousands of metric tons) is given below:

Year.	American.	Indian.	Egyptian.	Sundry.	Total.
1926-27	3,465	937	327	914	5,643
1927-28	3,427	843	318	1,000	5,588
1928-29	3,350	981	330	1,003	5,664
1929-30	2,878	1,167	315	1,118	5,478
1930-31	2,432	1,082	286	1,127	4,927
1931-32	2,794	864	334	1,072	5,064
1932-33	3,194	769	304	1,173	5,440
1933-34	3,087	893	381	1,313	5,674
1934-35	2,477	1,123	387	1,616	5,603
1935-36	2,776	1,112	388	1,826	6,102
1936-37	2,993	1,205	428	2,250	6,870
1937-38	2,455	1,165	394	2,135	6,149
1938-39 (provisional estimate)	2,510	1,150	390	2,290	6,340

This is the fourth year in which world consumption has exceeded 6 million tons thanks to the advance of " Sundry " cottons which compete with American cotton and supply mainly the spinning mills of the countries where they are grown. The industry in these countries, which is comparatively recent or newly established, is in full development and shows considerable progress from year to year.

An analysis of the causes which would explain why consumption of Indian and Egyptian cotton is stationary while that of "sundry" cottons is increasing and that of American cotton tends to decline would take us very far afield. Profound changes are taking place in the hierarchy of cotton-producing countries; there are shifts in the relative importance of consuming countries; international trade in the raw material and in the manufactured products has become almost chaotic and the world distribution of the cotton industry has itself been upset. Competition between the various cottons has become so keen that Governments have in some cases been driven to almost desperate measures to defend acquired positions.

We appear to be approaching a complete dislocation of what was once termed the *world market* and which is now being replaced by a number of more or less closed markets.*

Benoy Kumar Sarkar

AGRICULTURAL CREDIT WARRANTS IN FRANCE

Advances made on the security of produce raise problems of a technical, financial and legal nature. To make such advances possible it is above all necessary to construct store-places, barns, silos, refrigerating plant, and in general whatever is necessary for the storing and conservation of produce. The resources necessary for the financing of crops may reach a very high figure, especially if, as is frequently the case, the basic products in question are considerable not only in quantity but also in value. In such cases the advances have serious repercussions on the public finances. In the protection of the markets for the main agricultural products credits aiming at regularising supply and demand are of the first importance.

In France, where dealings for the financing of crops are highly developed, especially as regards measures for the defence of the wheat and wine markets, the organisation of this type of credit is of quite special interest.

Not only the funds deposited are employed, for these operations, but also those placed by the State at the disposal of the mutual agricultural credit institutions.

The agriculturalist who desires an advance on his crop generally signs a hand-note (*hundi*) or a warrant of a local agricultural credit society which discounts it at the regional bank. The regional bank in its turn has the warrant or hand-note discounted by the *Caisse Nationale de Credit Agricole* or the Bank of France.

The warrant is a document of a special type; it states the amount of the loan, the date of repayment and the nature of the security. The law of April 30, 1906, tried to make of it a true credit instrument, assuring it circulation and its payment on the date stated. Hence the warrant is transferable by endorsement, and those who have signed or endorsed a warrant are jointly and separately liable. On the other hand the holder may sell the security under easy and quick conditions failing payment of the warrant by the borrower on the stipulated date; and article 12 of the above-mentioned law allows the holder of the warrant precedence as against almost all the privileged creditors; and if the price does not suffice to satisfy his claims, article 13 gives him subsidiary rights against the endorsers and the borrower.

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* *Monthly Crop Report and Agricultural Statistics* (Rome), November, 1939.

A decree-law of September 28, 1935, has enlarged the area within which agricultural warrants may be used, and has thus helped to increase the credit facilities at the disposal of the agriculturists.

From 1906 to 1937, 283,400 agricultural warrants were issued on securities valued at 7,966 million francs to cover loans totalling 3,527 million francs.*

Benoy Kumar Sarkar

INDO-AMERICAN TRADE

A dinner was given by the India Chamber of Commerce of America on 5th December, 1939, at the Hotel Commodore in New York City in honour of Sirdar Hardit Singh Malik, India Government Trade Commissioner to America.

In the course of his speech, Sirdar J. J. Singh, President of the Chamber said :—"The aim and object of our Chamber is to promote bigger and better trade relations between India and the United States of America. To that end, ever since its inception—a little less than two years ago—our Chamber has been engaged in offering facilities and help and co-operation whenever possible to both Americans and Indians through correspondence and personal contact, in India as well as in America. However, our Chamber has been interested in even more vital issues and has devoted its energies and efforts to one particular issue, and that is, to help in bringing to a satisfactory and early conclusion the proposed Treaty of Commerce and Navigation between India and the United States of America.

"The present trade between these two countries is governed by an antiquated and obsolete Convention of Commerce which was concluded between Great Britain and America as far back as 1815. The businessmen, industrialists and merchants, both in America and in India, have for some time past realized that it was high time that a more up-to-date and bi-lateral and comprehensive instrument was brought into existence to govern the trade between these two countries."

In the course of his speech Sirdar Hardit Singh Malik dwelt on the effect of the war on India's trade with the United States and said in part as follows: "Roughly speaking, the value of the trade between the two countries amounts over a year to about $100,000,000 and although this has not always been the case, in recent years the balance of trade has been somewhat in India's favour.

"The tariff position in the two countries is, on the whole, favourable to an expansion of our mutual trade—and I say this after making due reservations with regard to the comparatively high duties prevailing in the United States on certain articles such as embroidered goods, brocades, etc., which India is in a very good position to supply and which do not, I think, compete in any sense with American goods. In the United States the position is that in spite of the fact that there is at present no commercial treaty regulating the trade between our two countries an omission which we all hope will be rectified before long—Indian goods under the existing laws and regulations of the United States get the benefit of any reduction of the U.S.A. import duties effected as a result of an agreement between the U.S.A and any other country.

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* L. Tardy: *Le financement des récoltes* (International Conference on Agricultural Credit, Vienna, 1936); The French Ministry of Agriculture's *Rapport sur le warrantage des produits agricoles pendant l'année 1937* (Paris, 1939).

"The export trade of India was, on the outbreak of war, affected by two important factors: (*a*) governmental restrictions on exports and (*b*) shipping. The export of certain articles essential for war purposes, *e.g.*, arms and ammunition, certain kinds of chemicals and chemical preparations, camphor, quicksilver and its compounds, etc., was prohibited altogether, while the export of most other articles from India was restricted, exports being permitted only after securing an export permit from the competent authority in India.

"There has naturally been some difficulty in the position with regard to shipping as a certain portion of it normally engaged in the carriage of commercial goods is required for the actual transport of troops and war material or for purposes of being held in reserve for that service.

"There are the large increases in freight and insurance rates which cannot but have a depressing effect in the long run on the international exchange of goods. There is the rise in prices in some commodities which may have serious long range effects. Take as an example the case of burlap.

"India is a relatively poor country and the market there is primarily a price market. If you wish to expand your sales there you will have to ensure that prices do not rise unduly. It is true that the factor of competition from Europe may not be as important for you as in normal times, but I suggest that the price factor will still be predominant since the level of price which places an article out of the reach of the average Indian buyer is not a very high one.

"Many competent observers ascribe the success attained both by the Germans and the Japanese in the Indian market to a very large extent to the close study through Indian associates and representatives of the Indian market and to the actual associating of Indian elements with their marketing organizations. I suggest that this is an important consideration for American manufacturers to bear in mind.

"One of the very important results in India of this war is going to be an acceleration in the pace of industrialization in India. It has already been fully realized that India, in order to play a part in this war commensurate with her resources and also to be fully equipped for her defence for which she must in an increasing measure rely on her own resources, must take all possible steps for the manufacture in India not only of war material of all kinds but also of the hundred and one things that play an indirect part in the prosecution of a war.

"Let not the more advanced industrial countries fear that an industrialized India will mean the loss of India to them as a market. There are no real grounds for such apprehensions.

"We have a large population in India at present, but the individual purchasing power of the population is very small. As that power increases with our industrialization and the greater productivity of our agriculture with its consequent rise in our standard of living we shall buy more from you, not less. It may be that we shall not buy the things that we buy at present. But our needs will expand and a country like America which realizes the necessity of going ahead and will no doubt adapt its manufacturing industries to the ever changing needs of countries that are not as industrially advanced as herself, will be in the best position to supply those needs."

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

Reviews and Notices of Books

Heat—By R. G. Milton. Published by J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., London. Pp. 338.

The book under review belongs to *Dent's Modern Science* series and is meant to meet the needs of those preparing for a Pass degree.

The book opens with a chapter on Thermometry and then passes on to 'Nature of heat', 'Calorimetry'; 'Dilatation of solids, liquids and gases.' In these chapters the author has selected the various up-to-date methods of thermal measurements with the exclusion of the antedated ones which are merely of historical interest. He has then explained the elements of Kinetic theory of gases which is followed by chapters on 'the Specific heats of gases and solids,' 'Change of state,' 'the liquid and the gaseous state.' Within a short compass he has managed to bring home to the readers, in a very clear and easy manner, the important subjects like Van der Waal's Equation, Porous plug effect, Elements of thermodynamics and Entropy, 'Conduction of heat' and 'Radiation.' The concluding chapter is devoted to a few applications of the Kinetic theory of gases where he has calculated the mean free path, the viscosity and the thermal conductivity of a gas and has also introduced to the reader the Widemann-Franz Law, Brownian motion, etc.

The book, on the whole, possesses a broad outlook, and notwithstanding its small compass, has been made up-to-date by eliminating the older theories and less important experiments. A new feature of the book, which will be of great interest to the readers, is the chronological table, given in the Appendix, of all the important discoveries in Heat. Another important feature of the book is the numerical examples given at the end of each chapter with a few typical ones worked out. The book is remarkable for the simplicity of style and lucidity of exposition and, as it appears to the reviewer, will be adequately suited for the Pass standard of our University.

J. C. M.

Songs from the Soul.—By Anilbaran Roy. Published by John M. Watkins, London.

The book under review does not, though the title of it suggests that it does, open with a verse. Mr. Roy gives his songs in the proper place, and prefaces them by full one hundred and sixty-two pages of lucid prose. This work can well be compared with the kind of literature, which goes by the name of "confessions," especially with the type St. Augustine's "Confessions" represents. Though we miss in this book the force, passion and inspiration which mark Augustine's outpourings, yet it can be said without the shred of a doubt that the work provides an opening through which we can get a glimpse into a spirit ardent and sincere. The book, in short, seems to be a record of a soul's journey to the divine destiny, and as such, contains much that will be helpful to spiritual aspirants.

But I am sorry to say that the spontaneity of the feelings and yearnings expressed therein is marred by occasional effusions which embody theorizings of the Pondicherry school. So, as on the one hand the book will quicken devotion and kindle aspiration in many hearts, so on the other it will cause confusion in many minds which have not yet attained that unique kind of intuition which the Pondicherry group is credited with.

As regards the songs themselves, some of them are really songs which will doubtless enliven devout souls by sending a thrill through them. Many of the songs are, however, much too burdened with philosophy and mysticism to have the quality of a song.

A. C. Das

Sree Ramkrishna and World-Culture.—By Tomoshranjan Roy. Price Re. 1.

In this book an attempt is made to bring out the salient points in the teachings of Ramkrishna. The author says what he has to say in simple language. So it can be commended to those who have not yet known much of the message of Ramkrishna. It is doubtless true that the advent of Ramkrishna marked the beginning of a new era of Hindu culture. But it is exaggeration to say that India's achievements in all the different spheres in this century have been due to Ramkrishna's and Vivekananda's influence.

The author goes out of his way to say a good deal about the influence of Indian thought upon Western countries. That India's philosophico-spiritual thought penetrated European culture, especially from the second century (A.D.) downwards, has been admitted even by eminent scholars of the West. But this claim cannot be substantiated on the mere ground of similarity between some systems of the West and some of the East. Characterization of Hegel's Absolute as "an imperfect world-ego perfecting itself in and through the world of his creation, is unfortunate. The author will do well to recast and rewrite his book.

A. C. Das

Marxism is Dead.—By Brij Narain. Published by Ram Krisnna & Sons, Lahore. 1939. Pp. 265. Price Rs. 3-8.

Supplement to Marxism is Dead.—By the same. Price Eight annas.

Professor Brij Narain contends that Marxism is not original and that the idea of class-war and the exploitation of labour was envisaged by Bazard many years before Marx began to write on the subject. He has endeavoured to show that the principles of Dialectical Materialism taught by Marx have no application in the sphere of practical economics. Great Britain where "the war between the two classes that constitute modern society has assumed such colossal dimensions" ought to have afforded an illustration of the principle of negation of negation, yet the proletariat there seem least inclined for a revolution. Mr. Narain also repudiates the idea of class-struggle in the interpretation of history on the basis of the Darwinian hypothesis of survival of the fittest as well as from a survey of History, in which he cannot find any data in its support. He has also attacked the principle of the change of quantity into quality. Mr. Narain quotes Engels to the effect that the employer does not become a capitalist if he *spends* the whole of the surplus value produced on himself but if he *pockets* any part thereof, money is turned into capital. "If he prefers to live like a prince, spending on himself all the surplus value of a hundred labourers or more, there is no passage of quantity into quality" (p. 37).

Mr. Narain cannot persuade himself to believe in the withering away of the State which Marx laid down as a principal feature in his Communism. The State has not shown any sign of withering away in Russia and force and coercion are even more ruthlessly applied there than in many parts of the civilised world. Russia has not yet evolved a classless society. Experts get 100 or 200 times more than the wages of workmen although Marx fixed the outside limit at four or five times more. Inheritance has not been abolished and men like Bukharin who upheld the Marxist doctrine have been executed. All these facts warrant Mr. Narain in concluding that Marxism is dead. He has taken pains to show that real wages in Russia have not risen although the rise in nominal wages has been appreciable since the Revolution.

Mr. Narain in a somewhat uncalled-for manner proceeds to prove the fallacy of the doctrine of *Ahimsa* which constitutes one of the most important elements in Gandhism. It is, however, no discovery made by the Mahatma, as Mr. Narain is careful enough to point out. Mr. Narain can quote a certain Dutch factor who wrote an account of the western coast of India in 1625 describing the *Ahimsa* of the *Banias* who permitted themselves to be robbed rather than take any steps to bring the miscreants to book. Mr. Narain then writes to convince the world of the ridiculous position taken by the Mahatma: "According to Mahatma Gandhi, if *goondas* will kill us, we should allow ourselves to be killed" (p. 105). Mr. Narain proceeds to tell us that although non-violence is impeccable ethically, there has never been nor will there ever be a society where it can be practised. He draws our attention to a passage in the Dutch factor's account where he says: "Moors or Mughals (as also Christians) would rather die fighting than be robbed of their goods" (p. 105). Mr. Narain thinks it a striking passage and tells us that were he the President of the Congress, he would ask every Congressman to con it over day and night. It is good that even in India to-day there are millions who would not share Mr. Narain's enthusiasm for such heroism as part of their political philosophy.

Mr. Narain has written a supplement to his book, being provoked by a review in a certain Indian journal. The supplement is more or less a skit on Stalinism and shows to advantage the author's gift of satire It contains a repetition of the arguments in "Marxism is Dead," and Stalin's speech at the 18th Party Congress of the Soviet Union provides the opportunity for this.

Mr. Narain as a writer is both lucid and scholarly but in reading his book one has the impression that he is speaking from a prejudiced mind. His statistics and quotations show his wide range of studies and his knowledge of various European languages but the authorities on whom he relies seem like him in many cases to give a somewhat prejudiced account of the real situation. What he says about India seems, however, to have proceeded from a fair-minded and impartial consideration of the facts. It is possible to agree with him there although we must point out that he is wrong in his estimate of the possibilities of non-violence. The Mahatma has shown himself to be no dreamer and visionary and our author cannot in fairness refuse to acknowledge the importance of passive resistance in the struggle for India's freedom.

H. C. MOOKERJEE

The Quest for Empire.—By Mahmud Husain, Ph.D., Reader in Modern History, University of Dacca. Pp. 240. Price 4*s.* 6*d.* 1937.

In common parlance as also in special discourses Imperialism is frequently understood in terms of one particular formula. It could be either considered as the revenge of a starving people, or the ambition of a heroic race, either as the greed of an avaricious nation or the desire of an aspiring dictator. Dr. Mahmud Husain has shown that such a complex phenomenon as Imperialism cannot be so easily explained. Modern war, he says, is brought about by a process of convergence of various forces, political, economic and ethic. The author has taken up Japan, Italy and Germany and has very ably analysed the forces which operate behind their militant Imperialism. The statements of the author are always substantiated by references to state-papers and statistics. The book is indeed a brilliant exposition of the anatomy of Imperialism.

H. C. Mookerjee

Ourselves

[Bipradas Palchaudhuri Fellowship for Foreign Scholars.—II. Krishnakumar Dutt Silver Medal.—III. Donation by the Assam Oil Company, Digboi.—IV. Sir Nripendranath Sircar Endowment Fund.—V. Appointment of Special Reader.—VI. Election of Ordinary Fellows.—VII. Nomination of an Ordinary Fellow.—VIII. A New Ph.D.—IX. Annual Convocation of the University.]

I. BIPRADAS PALCHAUDHURI FELLOWSHIP FOR FOREIGN SCHOLARS

Mr. Ranajit Palchaudhuri of Mahesganj Estate, Nadia, has offered to place at the disposal of our University Government Securities of the face value of Rs. 50,000 for the establishment of a Fellowship to be called the Bipradas Palchaudhuri Fellowship. The income from the Endowment is to be utilised in inviting foreign scholars to visit India and study Hindu Civilisation and Culture under the auspices of the Calcutta University. The appointment of the Fellow will ordinarily be made for a term of two years only. At the end of the period, he will be required to submit a Report embodying the results of his investigation, which will be published by the University on approval by the Board appointed to implement the donor's wishes.

The offer has been accepted with thanks.

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II. KRISHNAKUMAR DUTT SILVER MEDAL

Mr. Nabakumar Dutt, Muktear, Jalpaiguri, has conveyed to the University an offer of Bank Notes worth Rs. 500 for creating an endowment in memory of his father, the late Babu Krishnakumar Dutt, for the annual award of a silver medal, with effect from the year 1941, to the successful candidate at the B.A. examination who secures the highest number of marks in Bengali.

The offer has been received with thanks.

* * *

III. DONATION BY THE ASSAM OIL COMPANY, DIGBOI

The Assam Oil Company, Digboi, which granted a scholarship of Rs. 100 a month for research work to be conducted under the guidance of our Science College, has offered to increase the scholarship to Rs. 150 a month and to grant two additional scholarships of the value of Rs. 100 a month each, for investigating thixotropy and the properties of clay suspensions. Besides this money, a further offer of a sum Rs. 1,000 has been made to meet expenses for chemicals, apparatus, etc., in connection with the work.

The thanks of the University have been conveyed to the Assam Oil Company for the pecuniary assistance it has rendered in the furtherance of scientific research at the University Laboratories.

IV. SIR NRIPENDRANATH SIRCAR ENDOWMENT FUND

A donor who wishes to remain anonymous has offered to place at the disposal of the University the sum of Rs. 500 in G.P. Notes through Mr. Ratanmohan Chatterjee, Solicitor and Member of the Senate, with a view to creating an endowment to be named after Sir Nripendranath Sircar, to which contributions will be invited from the public to enable the University to proceed in future to make use of the Fund in a manner worthy of the name with which it is to be associated. The donor has expressed the desire that the Fund is to be operated without any communal bias.

The Fund has been enhanced by a contribution of Rs. 100.

The University has accepted the offer with thanks and has opened a fund under the name of Sir " N. N. Sircar Endowment Fund."

V. APPOINTMENT OF A SPECIAL READER

Mr. S. C. Majumdar, Chief Engineer, Irrigation Department, Government of Bengal, has been appointed University Reader to deliver a course of not less than six lectures on " Rivers of Bengal Delta."

VI. ELECTION OF ORDINARY FELLOWS

Lt.-Col. R. N. Chopra, C.I.E., K.H.P., M.A., M.D. (Cantab.), M.R.C.P. (Lond.), I.M.S., whose tenure of office as Ordinary Fellow would expire on the 31st March, 1940, has been re-elected for a further term of five years by the Faculty of Medicine. His election was uncontested.

Mr. S. N. Banerjee, Barrister-at-Law, has been elected an Ordinary Fellow of the University by the Faculty of Law, to fill up the vacancy caused by the death of Mr. Birajmohan Majumdar, M.A., B.L., in April last year. Mr. Banerjee has been returned unopposed.

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VII. NOMINATION OF AN ORDINARY FELLOW

His Excellency the Chancellor has been pleased to nominate Dr. Ananta Hiralal Pandya, SC.D. (Eng.), A.M.I.STRUCT.E., A.M.AM. SOC.C.E., A.M.I.E. (Ind.), A.M.INST.W., M.A.R.P.I., Principal, Bengal Engineering College, Sibpur, to be an Ordinary Fellow of the University *vice* Mr. C. V. Miller, A.C.G.I., B.SC., A.M.I.STRUCT.E., M.I.E. (Ind.), resigned.

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VIII. A NEW PH.D.

We offer our congratulations to Mr. Adharchandra Das, M.A., a Post-Graduate Lecturer in the Department of Philosophy, on his being admitted to the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy. Dr. Das submitted a thesis entitled "Negative Fact, Negation and Truth," which was examined by a Board consisting of the following scholars: Prof. J. H. Muirhead, Prof. H. H. Price and Prof. Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan.

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IX. ANNUAL CONVOCATION OF THE UNIVERSITY

The Annual Convocation of the University for the conferring of Degrees was held on Saturday, March 2, 1940, at the University College of Science, Upper Circular Road. His Excellency Sir John Herbert, Chancellor of the University, presided. Sir Mirza Ismail, Dewan of Mysore, delivered the Convocation Address, which was remarkable for its sympathetic, broad-minded and business-like approach to many a difficult problem of University education. A dignified inaugural Address was also delivered by the Vice-Chancellor, the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur M. Azizul Huque.

The total number of graduates who received Degrees this year was 5,308.

UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA

Latest Publications

The Problem of Minorities, by Dr. Dhirendranath Sen, M.A., Ph.D. Royal 8vo pp. 793+xxxi.

Industrial Finance in India, by Dr. Sarojkumar Basu, M.A., Ph.D. Royal 8vo pp. 436+xvii. Rs. 6.

Jubilee French Course, by J. Buffard, Esq. D/C 8vo pp. 156+xi. Rs. 2.

Prasthanaveda, by MM. Gurucharan Tarkadarsantirtha, Demy 8vo pp. 18+viii. As. 4.

Bharat-Gaurab Bankimchandra-o-Surendranath, by Miss Kamala Debi, M.A. Demy 8vo pp. 90. As. 12.

Post-War Europe, by Dr. Sudhindranath Ghosh, D.Lit. Demy 8vo pp. 40. As. 6.

Nyayamanjari, Part I, by Pandit Panchanan Tarkabagis. Royal 8vo pp. 490.

Bharater Silpa-Katha, by Mr. Asitkumar Haldar. Demy 8vo pp. 260. Rs. 1-12-0.

Emanuel Kant (in Bengali), by Mr. Humayun Z. A. Kabir, M.A. (Oxon.). Demy 8vo pp. 104. Re. 1.

Indian Steel and Protection, by Mr. K. Khosla, M.A. Demy 8vo pp. 133+x. Rs. 2.

Rabirasmi (*in Bengali*), Part II, by Mr. Charu Bandyopadhyay, M.A. Royal 8vo pp. 396. Rs. 3.

Exploration in Tibet, by Swami Pranavananda. D/Demy 16mo pp. 161+xx. Rs. 2-8.

Studies in Tantras, Part I, by Dr. Prabodhchandra Bagchi, M.A., Dr. es Lettres (Paris). Demy 8vo pp. 118. Rs. 1-12.

Calendar, Part II, 1929, Supplement 1936. D/Demy 16mo pp. 660+vi.

Books in the Press

MARCH, 1940

1. Some Published Papers, by Sir U. N. Brahmachari, Kt., M.A., M.D., Ph.D., F.A.S.B.
2. Generalities (*Readership Lectures*), by F. W. Thomas, Esq., M.A.
3. History of Indian Labour Legislation, by Dr. Rajanikanta Das, M.A., Ph.D.
4. Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, Third Session, 1939, edited by Prof. S. C. Sarkar, M.A. (Cantab.).
5. Santhal Insurrections, by Dr. K. K. Datta, M.A., Ph.D.
6. Sree Krishna Bijay, Edited by Rai Bahadur Prof. Khagendranath Mitra, M.A.
7. Land System of Bengal, by Rai Bahadur Mahendranath Gupta, M.A., B.L.
8. General Catalogue of Bengali Manuscripts, edited by Mr. Manindramohan Bose, M.A.
9. Post-Graduate Volume (Arts and Science), 1939.
10. Courtesy in Shakespeare, by Dr. Mohinimohan Bhattacharyya, M.A., Ph.D.
11. University Calendar for the year 1940.
12. Krishi-Bijnan, Vol. II, by the late Rai Rajeswar Dasgupta, Bahadur.
13. Agamasastra, by MM. Prof. Vidhusekhar Bhattacharyya (Sastri).
14. Asok, by Dr. Surendranath Sen, M.A., Ph.D., B.Litt. (Oxon.).
15. Vyaptipanchaka, by Pt. Anantakumar Tarkatirtha.
16. Bharatiya Banaushadhi Parichaya, by Dr. Kalipada Biswas, M.A., D.Sc. and Mr. Ekkari Ghosh.
17. Journal of the Department of Letters, Vol. XXXIII.
18. Nyayamanjari, Part II, Edited by Pandit Panchanan Tarkabagis.
19. Ramdas and Sivaji (*Adharchandra Mookerjee Lecture, 1939-40*), by Mr. C. C. Dutt, I.C.S. (Retd.).
20. Collected Published Papers, by the late Mr. Hemchandra Dasgupta, M.A., F.G.S.
21. University Questions for the year 1932.
22. Khandakhadyaka, Sanskrit Text, edited by Mr. Prabodhchandra Sengupta, M.A.
23. Translation of Pali Literature and Language, by Dr. Batakrishna Ghosh, Dr.Phil., D.Litt.
24. Siddhanta Sekhara, Vol. II, by Pandit Babua Misra.
25. University Question Papers, 1934.
26. Old Persian Inscriptions, by Dr. Sukumar Sen, M.A., Ph.D.

27. Some Historical Aspects of the Inscriptions of Bengal, by. Dr. Binaychandra Sen, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.).
28. History of Bengali Language and Literature, by Rai Bahadur Dr. Dineschandra Sen, B.A., D.Litt.
29. Calculus of Finite Differences, by Mr. Pramathanath Mitra, M.A.
30. Industry in India, by Dr. P. N. Banerjea, M.A., D.Sc. (Lond.), Barrister-at-Law.
31. Din-i-Ilahi, by Prof. Makhanlal Raychaudhuri, M.A., B.L.
32. Lectures on Art, by Dr. Abanindranath Tagore, C.I E.
33. Manobijnan, by Mr. Charuchandra Sinha, M.A.
34. Calendar, Part II, 1929, Supplement 1937.
35. University Questions for the year 1933.
36. Europer Silpakatha, by Mr. Asitkumar Haldar.
37. Manasamangal, by Mr. Jatindramohan Bhattacharyya.
38. History of Indian Literature, Vol. III, by late Prof. M. Winternitz, Ph.D.
39. Gitar Bani, by Mr. Anilbaran Ray.
40. Orthographical Dictionary, edited by Mr. Charuchandra Bhattacharyya.
41. Cynewulf and Cynewulf Canon, by Mr. S. K. Das, M.A., Ph.D.
42. Journal of the Department of Science, Vol. I, No. 3.
43. Elements of the Science of Language (Revised Edition), by Dr. I. J. S. Taraporewala, B.A., Ph.D.
44. Asutosh Sanskrit Series, Edited by MM. Prof. V. Sastri.
45. Raisekharer Padavali, by Mr. Jatindramohan Bhattacharyya.

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY PUBLICATIONS

VII. LAW

Katyayana-Mata-Sangraha, by Narayanchandra Banerjee, M.A., Lecturer in the Departments of History and Anthropology, Calcutta University. Royal 8vo pp. 92. 1927. Rs. 2-4.

The work is a collection of over 800 verses which are the legal fragments of Katyayana relating to Vyavahāra (solution of a dispute).

Law of Fixtures in British India (*Onauth Nauth Deb Prize Thesis, 1928*), by Manmathanath Ray, M.A., B.L. Royal 8vo pp. 165. Rs. 3-12.

The Modern Theories of Jurisprudence, Vol. II, by Karunamay Basu, M.A., B.L. Royal 8vo pp. 218. Rs. 4-0.

Hindu Law of Evidence or a Comparative Study of the Law of Evidence according to the Smritis, by Amareswar Thakur, M.A., Ph.D. Royal 8vo pp. xvi + 277. 1933. Rs. 4-0.

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